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FIG. 1—*Lisbon, Basilica da Estrêla: Exterior*

JOÃO FREDERICO LUDOVICE AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECT IN PORTUGAL*

ROBERT C. SMITH, Jr.

Introduction

IN the reign of D. João V of Portugal,[1] Lisbon witnessed the triumphal career of a German architect, João Frederico Ludovice, trained in Rome, who by the force of his talents and the influence which he enjoyed with the sovereign, directed the architecture of the court. Contemporary Portuguese architects, inadequately trained in a degenerated Renaissance school, hopelessly behind the times, could not oppose him. He was for a long time the only architect at Lisbon capable of carrying out the great royal commissions with which the king entrusted him. Later he dominated the Italian architects of renown who were invited by D. João V to work in Portugal. Ludovice exercised so profound an influence that any study of Portuguese architecture in the eighteenth century must necessarily begin with a consideration of his own accomplishments. But to establish the importance of his contribution some idea must first be given of the state of architecture at the beginning of D. João V's long reign.

When the king came to the throne in 1707 the arts had been languishing in Portugal for over a century. The country had lost its independence in 1580 and had sunk to the colonial status of an appendage of the Spanish Empire.[2] The prolific Manoeline tradition, which for so many years had produced the one national style in the whole history of Portuguese art,[3] died with D. Sebastião on the field

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1. D. João V was born October 22, 1689, the son of D. Pedro II of Portugal and his second wife, Maria Sophia of Neuburg. He became King of Portugal in 1707, and was married a year later to Archduchess Marianna of Austria. When he died, at the age of sixty-one, he had ruled for forty-two years, although during the last eight he had been practically incapacitated by paralysis. His reign brought peace to Portugal, after the prolonged disorders of the seventeenth century, and a vast new colonial wealth. The recently discovered Brazilian gold and diamond mines of Minas Geraes and Matto Grosso furnished the Crown an annual income of eight million gold *cruzados,* revenues of which the Governor of Rio de Janeiro, D. Rodrigo da Costa, had declared, ***emquanto o mundo durar se não poderão extinguir*** (J. Lucio de Azevedo, *Epocas de Portugal economico,* Lisbon, 1929, pp. 318 ff.). For the best history of the reign of D. João V see Manoel Pinheiro Chagas, *Historia de Portugal,* third edition, Lisbon, 1902, vol. V.

2. On August 4, 1578, the king, D. Sebastião, had been killed in a battle with Moorish chieftains near Fez. Since he died without issue and unmarried, the question of succession immediately arose. For two years the uncle of the dead sovereign, Cardinal Infante D. Henrique, ruling in his place, averted the inevitable. But, after his death in 1580, Philip II of Spain, whose claims to the kingdom derived principally from his mother, Empress Isabella, the sister of D. João III of Portugal, defeated the other pretenders and was acknowledged King of Portugal by the Cortes of Thomar.

3. The style, which evolved in the last decade of the fifteenth century, is essentially a combination of the Spanish Plateresque Late Gothic and Renaissance architecture with certain naturalistic motifs of exotic vegetation and nautical elements symbolic of the contemporary Portuguese discoveries and conquests in India and Brazil. The poet, Almeida Garrett, seems first to have connected the style with the name of King Manoel, in his poem *Camões,* which was published at Paris in 1825. Although the style

of Alcacer-Quibir.[4] The prophecies of the poet, Luiz de Camões, had come true in regard to the arts as well as politics.[5] Portugal had lost her artistic independence as well. As a result *os tristes Portugueses tinhão de ir buscar fortuna na Côrte de Hespanha.*[6] Portuguese artists were obliged to seek at Madrid the patronage they could no longer obtain in Lisbon. During the period of the Spanish rule such painters as Vasco Pereira[7] and Manoel Denis,[8] and sculptors like Giraldo de Merlo[9] and Manoel Pereira[10] quit their country to work in Spain, and the father of Valazquez probably left Portugal for the same economic reasons. Those who remained were scarcely capable of carrying out the few commissions that came their way.

In architecture the situation was not at first so gloomy. This was the time of the introduction of the Counter-Reformation style into Portugal by the Italian architect, Filippo Terzi.[11] It was Philip II himself who financed the building of the monastic church of S. Vicente de Fora at Lisbon in 1582, a church as solidly severe as the Escorial itself. Terzi's other buildings in Lisbon,[12] destroyed in the disastrous earthquake of 1755,[13] are said to have shared this characteristic of Herrera's art. At the same time members of the Italian family of Turriano,[14] architects of Charles V and Philip II, were employed on a series of royal engineering commissions in Portugal.

continued in favor long after D. Manoel's death (1521), modern critics have universally adopted the term derived from that monarch's name as an effectively descriptive nomenclature for the style. For recent discussions of some aspects of the Manoeline style see: Vergilio Correia, *A arquitectura em Portugal no seculo XVI,* Lisbon, 1909; *As obras de Santa Maria de Belem de 1514 a 1519,* Lisbon, 1922 (by the same author); João Barreira, *L'art manuelin. Ses éléments et son évolution,* in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* VIe Per., vol. XII, December, 1934, p. 245.

4. For a recent study of this Portuguese *Götterdämmerung* see Queiroz Velloso, *D. Sebastião 1554-1578,* Lisbon, 1935.

5. Luiz de Camães, *As Lusiadas,* canto X, stanza 152.

6. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de memorias relativas às vidas dos pintores, e escultores, architetos, e gravadores portugueses* etc., Lisbon, 1823, p. 20.

7. Vasco Pereira, who was born in Evora about 1535, died at Seville in 1609, where he had obtained a phenomenal success as a painter of Manneristic altarpieces.

8. There seem to have been two Portuguese painters of this name working in Spain. Cean Bermudez mentions one who in 1563 translated into Spanish the *Pintura Antiga* of the Portuguese humanist, Francisco de Holanda (*Diccionario historico de los mas illustres professores de las bellas artes en España,* Madrid, 1800, vol. II, p. 11). Clearly a different personality, however, must have been that other Manoel Denis who in 1630 signed a portrait of Infanta D. Maria, was employed by Philip III, and seems to have been a follower of the court painter, Bartolomeo Gonzalez (Francisco Xavier Sanchez Cantón, *Los Pintores de los Austrias, Boletin de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones,* XXII, 4, 1914, pp. 302-303).

9. Giraldo de Merlo, perhaps a pupil of the great Escorial sculptor, J. B. Monegro, was active from 1603 to 1622 in the cathedral and churches of Toledo. He was employed upon the retable of Guadalupe (Juan Agustin Cean Bermudez, *op. cit.,* vol. II, pp. 193-195; and Fernando Aruajo Gomez, *Historia de la escultura,* Madrid, 1885, pp. 314-316, 613).

10. Manoel Pereira, who was born in Oporto in 1574 and died in Madrid in 1667, established a school of sculpture at the Spanish capital. His best known works are at S. Domingos in Bemfica (Portugal), S. Isidro el Real at Madrid, and the Cartuja de Miraflores neas Burgos.

11. Or Tercio. For the biography of this architect see: Eugenio Llaguna y Amirola, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restoracion,* Madrid, 1829, vol. III, p. 38; Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario historico e documental dos architectos, engenheiros, e constructores portuguezes,* Lisbon, 1922, vol. III, pp. 93-101; *Filippo Terzi architetto e ingegnere militare in Portogallo: 1577-97. Documenti inediti dell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze e della Biblioteca Oliveriana di Pesaro. — Documentos para o estudo das ralações culturaes entre Portugal e Italia publicados por H. Trindade Coelho e G. Batelli,* vol. III, Florence, 1935.

12. These buildings were: the pavilion which he added to the Royal Palace, the churches of S. Antão, N. S. do Desterro, and perhaps S. Roque.

13. The disastrous earthquake of November 1, 1755, wrecked most of the buildings in the city of Lisbon and in the southern province of Algarve. The tremors were felt as far away as Salamanca, where the dome of the cathedral, built by Joaquin de Churriguera, was so shaken that it had to be taken down (A. Garcia y Bellido, *Estudios del barroco español. Avances para una monografia de los Churrigueras. Archivo español de arte y arqueologia,* 17, 1930, p. 135). For an excellent bibliography of the Lisbon earthquake see *Exposição comemorativa do terremoto de 1755. Catalogo,* Lisbon, 1934.

14. Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.,* vol. III, pp. 143-148; Llaguna y Amirola, *op. cit.,* vol. II, pp. 102, 245, vol. III, p. 19.

But with the turn of the century even this meagre patronage ceased. Philip's successors introduced a change of policy toward Portugal. They forgot their predecessor's interest in the country, his lengthy intrigues to obtain it,[15] and his attempts at conciliation after it became a part of his empire. Philip III and Philip IV neglected Portugal. The nobles were lured from Lisbon to Madrid and one more scanty source of patronage was gone. Only the Church continued to build in a desultory fashion throughout the provinces.[16] But little of importance was attempted and still less concluded. And for these scanty requirements the craft of poorly trained local builders sufficed. There began a lull in architectural development that was to continue in Portugal throughout the whole seventeenth century.

The subsequent political history of the times had little effect upon the situation. In 1640 the Portuguese regained their independence. The Bragança dynasty was enthroned at Lisbon, and once again there was a royal court at the capital. But the struggle with Spain continued; for decades the interminable military campaigns went on.[17] There was no lasting peace in Portugal until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. As a result the sovereigns, D. João IV, D. Afonso VI, and D. Pedro II,[18] had neither the time nor the money to spend upon commissions for monumental churches and palaces. Yet the Portuguese themselves realized how inadequate their local architects had become. When D. João IV granted the Theatines the privilege of erecting a church in Lisbon, they obtained plans from no less a master of the Italian Baroque than the Modanese architect, Guarino Guarini.[19] The church of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providencia, completed, we are told, in 1653,[20] was the only example on Lusitanian soil of that style of *il bisbetico, l'irregolare, lo sforzato,*[21] which was evolving

15. Queiroz Velloso, *op. cit.*

16. Other churches which had been begun at the end of the sixteenth century were: the Jesuit Sé Nova of Coimbra, about 1580; the Misericordia of Coimbra, in 1590; the sacristy of the Sé Velha at Coimbra (1593); the Carmo, church of N. S. do Coimbra, about 1597; the two Benedictine establishments which Baltazar Alvares built at Lisbon and Oporto; the Misericordia of Viana do Castello, begun by João Lopes in 1589; the Cartuxa near Evora, 1589-94, and the church of S. Thiago in Beja, of 1590, both begun for the Archbishop of Evora, D. Theotonio; the monastery of N. S. da Serra do Pillar in the Oporto suburb of Vila Nova de Gaya, a square church with a circular interior and an unusual rounded cloister. (See Walter Crum Watson, *Portuguese Architecture,* London, 1908, Chapters XVII–XVIII).

17. A good modern history of this period in Portugal is Heinrich Schaeffer and J. Pereira de Sampaio, *Historia de Portugal,* Oporto; 1898, vol. IV.

18. They reigned 1640-1656, 1662-1667, and 1667-1706, respectively.

19. The Theatine, Camillo Guarino Guarini (1624-1683), was without question the greatest Italian Baroque architect active in the north of Italy in the seventeenth century. Evolving his style from the fantastic innovations of Francesco Borromini, he became preoccupied in his later works with the problems of interior space and their solution. He was one of the foremost theorists of the period. In the decade of the 1650's he was active in Parma, Guastalla, and Modena, where he taught philosophy and mathematics while he practiced architecture. In 1662 he went to Paris and erected there the church of Ste.-Anne-Royale. Three years later his book, *Placita Philosophica,* was published in Paris. In 1668 he became the architect of Charles Emanuel II of Savoy and began his astonishing series of buildings in Turin: the Sindone Chapel, the churches of S. Filippo Neri, S. Lorenzo, the Consolata, and the Carignano Palace. The construction of the dome of S. Lorenzo, with its striking resemblances to those of Moorish buildings, suggests that he may have visited Spain. Guarini is, however, known to have been in Messina in 1660 and could well have observed in Sicily the principles of Arab architecture. He still lacks an adequate monograph, for Tommaso Sandonnini's book, *Del Padre G. Guarini* (Modena, 1890), is not thorough. More satisfactory is his own work, *Architettura Civile* (Turin, 1737), which illustrates some sixteen of his buildings, including the lost churches at Messina, Lisbon, and Paris. See also A. E. Brinckmann, *Von Guarino Guarini bis Balthasar Neumann,* Berlin, 1932.

20. Luiz Gonzaga Pereira, *Monumentos sacros de Lisboa em 1833,* Lisbon, 1927, p. 189. Pereira's dates, however, are often inaccurate, so that it is better to date the *design* of the church somewhere after 1662, the year in which Guarini went to Paris to erect the church of Ste.-Anne-Royale, from which the Lisbon building seems to have derived.

21. Francesco Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni,* Bassano, 1785, vol. II, pp. 198-199.

all over Europe (Fig. 2). The building seems to have had no influence upon the architects at Lisbon.[22] Whether they were incapable of copying the style of the structure, however clumsily, or whether they refused to accept the Baroque manner, there were no imitations of the Theatine church. Such an isolated example was not enough to reawaken the national genius. Unfortunately, the importation of Italian architects was too expensive a luxury for the times.[23] Spaniards were not welcome in Portugal, and there was no Portuguese capable of traveling and bringing home the Baroque style. The local master builders remained content with what they had learned of a long outmoded Renaissance tradition.

In 1682 the royal architect, João Antunes, was called upon to produce a monumental building.[24] The church of S. Engracia in Lisbon (Fig. 3) was a seventeenth century adaptation of that type of central plan church with angle towers that was so popular in Italy during the Renaissance. Only the colossal engaged columns of the lower stories, projecting *en ressaut* from the circular tribunes, and the extremely elongated volutes above, distinguish the church from the type of its models. Nor is there any apparent consideration of scale in the relation of the various parts of the design. Like so many other buildings of the period in Portugal the church of S. Engracia has never been completed. It exists as a sort of monument to the unsettled times and the inefficient architects of the period. Yet, although it is thoroughly *retardataire* in character, the church possesses a certain solidity and monumentality in design and execution which sets it apart from the bulk of the work done in the seventeenth century.

More typical of these buildings is the church of Nossa Senhora de Mua, at Cabo de Espichel, a site on the Coast of Caparica, near Lisbon, which was erected between the years 1701 and 1707.[25] The first of the celebrated eighteenth century Portuguese pilgrimage churches,[26] it was ordered by D. João's brother, Infante D. Francisco. From the accounts of the time, it appears that the undertaking was considered of great importance. The revenues of the Casa do Infantado were put at the disposal of local architects.[27]

22. Guarini appears to have sent the plans for the church from abroad. There is no proof that he ever came to Portugal. Milizia (who, to be sure, disliked Guarini's style and made his account of the man as brief as possible) mentions no trip to Lisbon (*op. cit.*). Nor does C. V. Machado refer to one in his *Collecção de memorias*. Sousa Viterbo found no documents relative to a stay of the architect in Portugal (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 467). It was rather Tommaso Sandonnini who surmised that the architect had visited Lisbon (*op. cit.*). He would have Guarini undertake the voyage to Portugal after leaving Paris and would have him arrive in Lisbon in 1665. The statement is a pure hypothesis of the author (see the review of the book in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, III, 1890, p. 221).

23. The papal architect, Carlo Fontana, was named architect to D. Pedro II and made a *cavaleiro* of the Portuguese Order of Christ (C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, p. 162). But he never came to Portugal, and how he may have served his royal patron during D. Pedro's life remains a mystery. In 1707, however, D. João V employed Carlo Fontana to decorate the Portuguese church at Rome, S. Antonio dei Portoghesi, for his father's funeral (C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*). For the reproduction of an engraving by D. Franceschini of Fontana's design see E. Coudenhove-Erthal, *Carlo Fontana und die Architektur des Römischen Spätbarocks*, Vienna, 1930, pl. XXX.

24. He did not actually become Royal Architect until 1699. For the documents relative to his career see Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 43.

25. *Memorias de N. S. do Cabo*, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Pombalina codex 73, ff. 53-54.

26. Among the most interesting of these pilgrimage churches are: the Bom Jesus at Braga, begun by Archbishop D. Rodrigo de Moura Telles at the beginning of the eighteenth century and finished by the architect, Carlos Amarante (Alberto Feio, *Bom Jesus do Monte*, Braga, 1930); the church of Remedios at Lamego, a work of the 1750's; N. S. dos Ares, near Viana do Alentejo, begun by Padre João Baptista in 1743; and the hexagonal church of N. S. da Pedra, outside Obidos, which was built by Rodrigo Franco in 1747.

27. The Casa do Infantado was an accumulation of estates and revenues held by the Crown and distributed to some younger son of the sovereign. The palace of Queluz and that of Côrte-Real, in

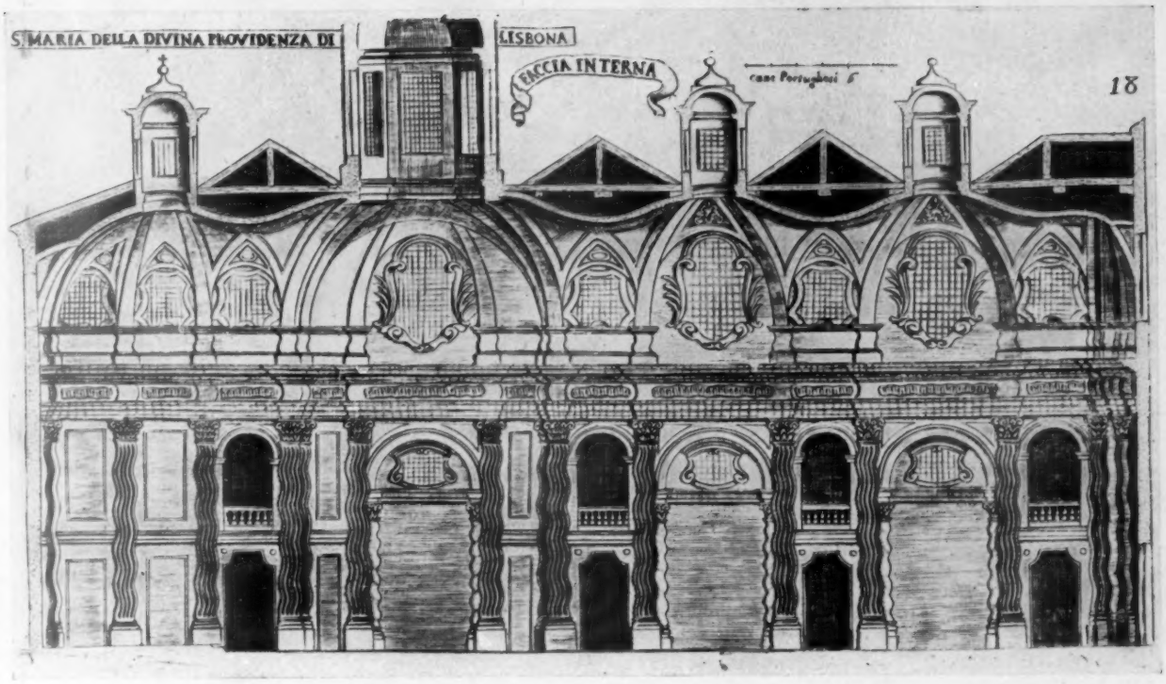

FIG. 2—*Lisbon, Church of N. S. da Divina Providencia: Elevation*
(*From* Architettura Civile, *by Guarino Guarini*)

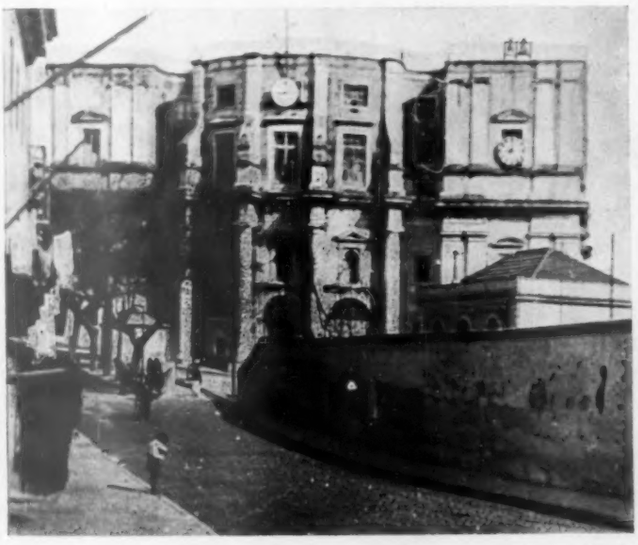

FIG. 3—*Lisbon, Church of S. Engracia: Exterior*

FIG. 4—*Cabo de Espichel, Church of N. S. de Mua: Exterior*

FIG. 5—*Exterior*

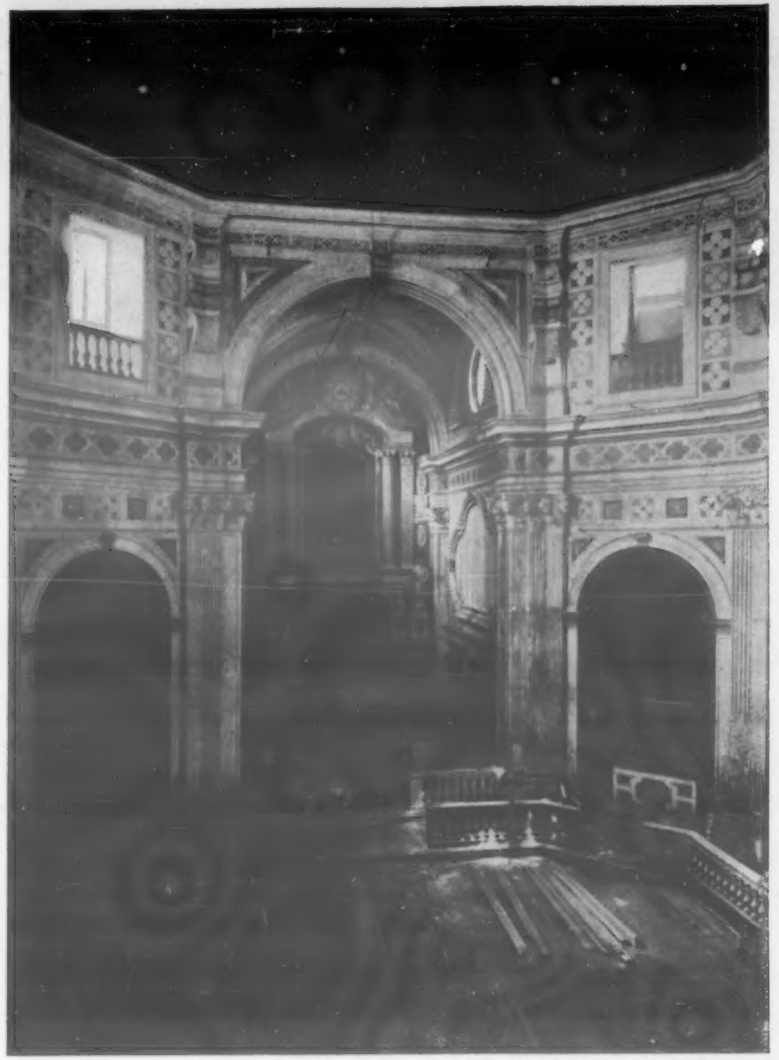

FIG. 6— *Interior*

Lisbon, Church of Menino de Deus

But the builders were wholly unequal to their task. The church itself (Fig. 4), built of bricks and covered with plaster, with stone revetments at the angles and in the towers, is devoid of monumentality. The slitlike windows, the rigid triangular pediment with its crest of awkward scrolls, and the tiny incongruous apse have all the characteristics of peasant architecture. What may even be vague and debased reflections of the lateral passages of the façade of St. Peters in Rome serve to connect the church with the long arcaded lodgings of the pilgrims. Only the entrance door, of fine Arrabida marble, which preserves the semicircular, fanlike type of tympanum popular in Lisbon in the seventeenth century, can pretend to any architectural distinction. But there is nothing at Espichel to justify the flattering epithet of *magestosa igreja* which the church received.[28] Indeed, it is difficult to understand how the royal patrons could possibly have been satisfied with the work. Yet we must not hold the architects entirely responsible for the failure at Espichel. It was rather the natural outcome of that tradition of neglecting the fine arts which for over a century the political situation had been forcing upon the Portuguese nation.

Even after the arrival of Ludovice this tradition endured at the capital. In 1710 D. João V commissioned the first of his great churches in Lisbon, a new foundation for the nuns, the Mantelatas da Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco de Xabregas. On the fourth of July, 1711, the king personally laid the first stone of the new church of the Menino de Deus, "with many different coins of gold which had been struck in that same year."[29]

We do not know who designed the church.[30] In plan it is octagonal, with a very deep rectangular *capella-mór*.[31] There is a high-pitched tile roof which is completely concealed behind the huge façade of *pedra lioz,* the local building stone of Lisbon. It is a vast expanse of masonry peppered with small irregular windows (Fig. 5). Had the two lateral towers been completed the effect would perhaps have been more coherent. Even the improvised belfries, which appear in old drawings, have now disappeared. But granting the unfinished state of the façade, it is impossible to deny the incompetence of the design. There is at the Menino de Deus that same lack of scale which marks the façade of S. Engracia and that combination of ill-understood architectural motifs without a thought for their proper relation. It is as though the architect had refused to consider the design of the façade as a whole but had capriciously built up the combination as the work advanced. A tremendous accent is placed upon the main door by carrying it up into a strangely elongated window. From there a sort of transition is made by means of a bull's-eye

Lisbon, constituted the nucleus of the properties. The Infante D. Pedro (1648-1706), the fourth son of D. João IV, was the first "Senhor da Caso do Infantado." By usurping the throne of his brother, D. Afonso VI, he reigned as D. Pedro II. In 1704, at the frontier town of A Guarda, he made over to his second son, the Infante D. Francisco (1691-1747), a brother of D. João V, the whole Casa do Infantado.

28. *Memorias de N. S. do Cabo,* f. 61.

29. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *Gabinete Historico,* Lisbon, vol. VI, p. 24.

30. There is an amazing lack of documents and drawings relative to the architecture of the time of D. João V. One explanation for this shortage is that the king's great interest in building led him to accumulate these documents and drawings in the vast new library at the Lisbon palace which was totally destroyed in the earthquake of 1755.

31. The Portuguese word *capella-mór,* used throughout this study, has the meaning of the Spanish *capilla mayor.* It refers to the whole east end of a church,

opening to the three huge empty niches above. The door itself, a combination of shells and short scroll motifs, is a close repetitition of one built at the church of the Misericordia in Torres Vedras in 1710. The architect of the Menino de Deus was evidently one of a number of closely related local builders active at the time in Portugal,[32] who, when called upon to erect a monumental building, was unequal to his task.

The interior of the building is clearly the work of a man obsessed by a desire to break up surfaces and scatter all sorts of meagre decorations regardless of their scale (Fig. 6). The fine Corinthian pilaster order is carried up one story. Above, strange combinations of scrolls and brackets pretend to support a frieze. Every inch of the walls is taken up with a complicated intarsia of colored marbles *à la napolitaine*. This motif was a popular one at Lisbon in the early eighteenth century. At the great church of S. Vicente de Fora there is a small sacristy of the period with walls of the same fantastic intarsia. The *capella-mór* of the church of the Menino de Deus itself has a vault of this brilliant marble mosaic.

The architectural details of the interior of the Menino de Deus show that the builder had begun to have a knowledge of Baroque decoration.[33] But he was as unable to compose with them as he had shown himself on the exterior. The high altar is a confection of rose marble whose every line seems calculated to increase the general disorder of the whole. It lacks those elements of design and proportion which are the basis of all successful Baroque compositions however involved. The balusters in the passages before the windows are peculiarly ill-formed and ill-related to the scale of the interior of the church.

The building of the Menino de Deus expresses admirably the state of architecture at the time of Ludovice's arrival in Portugal.[34] Now that the country was at last at peace and immense riches were at hand to finance vast royal commissions there was no one capable of carrying them out in a style worthy of the age. This state of affairs continued until in the building of Mafra Ludovice at last laid down for the rest of the century the rules of good design and construction in architecture, thereby stimulating a veritable Joanine Renaissance.

The king supplied that liberal royal patronage which had for so long been lacking and which was so necessary for the revival of the arts in Portugal. He invited to Lisbon artists from all over Europe and generously rewarded them with his Brazilian wealth.[35] During his long reign the architects, sculptors, and painters who flocked

32. For example, the Tinoco family, which counted three generations of architects. We have record of a Pedro Nunes Tinoco, his son, João Nunes, and grandson, Luiz Nunes Tinoco, who became architect of S. Vicente in 1690. Sousa Viterbo lists their principal constructions, most of which have disappeared (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 112).

33. This church possesses one of the earliest eighteenth century painted ceilings in Lisbon. Vincenzo Baccarelli, who came from Italy at the end of the seventeenth century and painted the celebrated vault of the Portaria of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, is credited with having brought to Portugal the style of the Roman High Baroque. Although he soon returned to Italy, he left a considerable school of ceiling decorators in Lisbon. Two of these men, João Nunes de Abreu and Jeronimo da Silva, are said to have decorated the ceiling of the Menino de Deus (C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 181, 183).

34. Other examples of this type of building are: the constructions at the convent of the Quinta de Valver, near Evora, built for the archbishop D. Simão da Gama; and the first buildings at the Franciscan convent at Louriçal, in the bishopric of Coimbra, erected by João Antunes for D. Pedro II (Manoel Monteiro, *Historia da fundação do real convento de Louriçal de religiozas escravas do santissimo sacramento*, Lisbon, 1750).

35. For a list of some of these artists see Vergilio Correia, *Artistas italianos em Portugal. Seculo XVIII —(1ª metade)*, Coimbra, 1932.

to Portugal transformed the capital and executed a multitude of commissions in the provinces. In the words of an anonymous contemporary eulogist, "To this great king Portugal owes its many sumptuous buildings, various constructions, and many other things so useful and necessary to human life which before him we did not have."[36]

The buildings constructed in the region of Lisbon during the first half of the eighteenth century represent little that was new in the development of the Baroque style. We cannot speak of a national Portuguese style in this period except in connection with the work of Nicolau Nazoni[37] in Oporto and the provincial schools of Vizeu and Braga in the north of Portugal.[38] D. João's predilection for the style of the Roman architects of the Seicento and the Settecento, which made him favor the work of Ludovice, and which culminated in the actual commission for a chapel to be built in Rome and transported to Lisbon, gave an Italianate tone to the architecture of his capital.[39] At a time when the rest of Europe, and especially the court at Madrid, was more interested in what was being invented in Paris than in what had already been evolved at Rome, Lisbon remained faithful to the old disseminator of the Baroque style. But in spite of this imitation of Italian models local Portuguese traditions constantly made themselves felt in the choice of materials and in certain elements of design and plan. In Ludovice's convent at Mafra, Italianate though it is, Portugal possesses a building worthy of comparison with the greatest achievements of the century. The tradition of fine building and decoration evolved at Mafra and reflected in Portuguese monuments throughout the period should give to Joanine architecture a distinguished place in the final history of the Baroque style.

Ludovice's Biography

In 1829 Cyrillo Volkmar Machado wrote the first biography of João Frederico Ludovice.[40] The early nineteenth century painter and academician set down for the

36. B. N. de Lisboa, cod. ms. 682, f. 6.

37. An Italian architect who came to Oporto in the middle of the eighteenth century and was active there until his death on August 30, 1773. He is remembered principally for the churches, the "Clerigos" and the Misericordia, and for the Quinta da Prelada, a country estate of the Noronha family, the tower of whose arms was erected in the gardens to produce a curious Neo-Gothic effect. For the biography of the architect and a description of his buildings see: Agostinho Rebello da Costa, *Descripção topografica e historica da cidade do Pôrto*, Oporto, 1788; Francisco José Patricio, *D. Nicolau Nazoni, Commercio Portuguez*, 94, Oporto, 1885; and the article devoted to Nazoni in Sousa Viterbo's dictionary, vol. II, pp. 189-193.

38. These provincial monuments have never been thoroughly studied. We have only such information and photographs as may be found in the following guidebooks: Maximiano de Aragão, *Vizeu Apontamentos Historicos*, Oporto, 1894-1895, 2 vols; Maximiano de Aragão, *Vizeu (Provincia da Beira). Subsidios para a sua historia desde fins do seculo XV*, Oporto, 1928, 2 vols; A. X. Campos, *Vizeu. Beira*, Oporto, 1920; Azevedo Coutinho, *Guia do viagante em Braga*, Braga, 1894; João Pereira do Rio, *Elucidario do viajante em Braga. Esboço historico discriptivo*, Braga, 1923; Azevedo Coutinho (filho), *Guia do forasteiro em Braga*, Braga, 1926.

39. It was in keeping with the Italianate politics of the reign. D. João V traded with the papal court for beatifications, canonizations, privileges, and distinction of all sorts. The elevation of the archepiscopal see of Lisbon to the dignity of a patriarchate in 1716 was arranged in exchange for naval assistance rendered Pope Clement XI at the Battle of Matapan. The innumerable papal briefs granting to the patriarchal canons the rank of bishops, and to the patriarch that of cardinal, and conferring upon the Portuguese clergy a host of other privileges, the bull *Quod expensis omnium*, the papal benediction for the chapel of S. Roque at Lisbon, and finally the title of Rex Fidelissimus for D. João V were all negotiated through huge payments to the papacy.

40. *Op. cit.*, pp. 163-166, 176-179.

first time the list of Ludovice's buildings in Portugal and attempted to make an analysis of his style. He realized the importance of Mafra in the history of Portuguese architecture and recognized the part Ludovice had played in its development. But here the real value of Volkmar Machado's biography stops. His account of Ludovice's life is largely based on traditions, and is consequently unreliable. He seems even to have invented certain legends in regard to the architect's career which have persisted to the present day. It was not until Visconde de Sanches de Baena in 1881 published his findings based upon Inquisition documents that the main facts of Ludovice's life were known.[41] We are indebted to his researches for our knowledge of the Ludovice family. More recently the distinguished archivist, Dr. Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, has published a series of official documents which both confirm some of the statements Volkmar Machado made and throw additional light upon the facts which Sanches de Baena had revealed.[42] On these two sources our knowledge of Ludovice's career is based. Since the publication of these documents nothing new has been discovered. Although there is much in the architect's extraordinary life that remains to be explained, we possess a far more detailed and coherent account of it than of that of any other architect of the time in Portugal.

On September 28, 1734, Ludovice's son, João Pedro, prepared a formal petition to be admitted as a familiar of the Inquisition at Lisbon. To this was added a confidential report drawn up for the Holy Office on April 13, 1736. These documents, which Visconde de Sanches de Baena discovered and published, are here summarized.

The report states that the architect, João Frederico Ludovice, was the younger son of a Peter Ludwig, a small government functionary, "a kind of notary,"[43] and Elizabeth Ludwig, Lutherans, resident in the village of Hohenhart near Hall in Swabia. He was born in 1670 and was named Johann Friedrich. At first he studied with his father, who practiced the art of the goldsmith, probably as a relaxation from his official duties. Then, at the age of nineteen, our architect left the village of Hohenhart for Augsburg, where he served for eight years with the imperial armies in the war against Louis XIV. After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 instead of returning to his home he went to Rome and during the winter of 1698 to 1699 was lodged at the "*Penitenciaria de S. Pedro.*" To explain the presence of the future architect in what he took to be a house of Jesuit novices Sanches de Baena inserts a tale of Ludwig's experiences during the wars.[44] He would have him wounded in an engagement and taken prisoner by the French. Later the Jesuits, realizing that the young man possessed an extraordinary intelligence, "succeeded in persuading him to enter the Company and when the war was over sent him on to Rome." This interesting explanation, totally unsupported by documents, was not necessary. The fact that Ludwig was living in the "*Penitenciaria de S. Pedro*" does not prove that he intended to become either a Jesuit or a priest. His place of lodging was

41. Visconde de Sanches de Baena, *Apontamentos ácerca da biographia do notavel architecto da Basilica Real, Palacio e Convento da Villa de Mafra*, Lisbon, 1881. The documents were also published in the *Diario Civilisador* of April 17 and May 15, 1881.

42. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 95-102.

43. The Portuguese reads: *pessoa do governo, cargo que corresponde a Provedor.*

44. The *visconde's* mention of an extract from the writings of that *grande investigador geneologico*, Antonio Feyo Cabral de Castello Branco is not convincing (*op. cit.*).

certainly not a seminary. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to be sure of the exact meaning of the term "*Penitenciaria de S. Pedro*" in the eighteenth century. It is true that up until the dissolution of their order in Italy the Jesuits occupied one of the three minor tribunals of penance at Rome.[45] And this, to be sure, was the one attached to St. Peter's. But this "*Penitenciaria*" had nothing to do with the training of young Jesuits. It was essentially a committee of Jesuits who assembled to decide the problems of the behavior of Catholic communicants which had not been passed upon by the Cardinal Grand Penitentiary and his officials. The term "*Penitenciaria*" applies to the deliberative tribunal rather than to any building which it occupied in Rome. The Inquisition document implies, however, that the Jesuit committee possessed a palace of some sort in the region of St. Peter's (where presumably it assembled) and asserts that Ludovice was lodged there. That is all. As we shall see, the young German was working for the Jesuits at the time. We need only presume that they found lodgings for him in one of their properties while he was carrying out the work. The report makes no mention of Ludwig's intending to take orders and there is nothing in his subsequent career, as we know it, to indicate that he ever contemplated such a step. Certainly, had he intended to become a Jesuit and then renounced his intention he would scarcely have been able to keep the friendship and support of the order as he did throughout his life, and the matter would undoubtedly have been mentioned in this confidential report for the Holy Office.

Nor is there any reason to suppose, as Sanches de Baena does, that it was the Jesuits who brought Ludwig to Rome. It is just as likely that the young German, having continued in Augsburg his desultory training as a goldsmith, came to Italy on his own account for the customary *Reisejahre*. A recent writer has pointed out how many German artists were active at Rome at this very time.[46] We know from Filippo Titi[47] that Ludwig was employed at the church of the Gesù along with Johann Adolf Gaap,[48] a member of the great goldsmith family of that name in Augsburg. Such a connection suggests that the two Germans came to Rome together. Ludwig might even have worked as an apprentice in the Gaap atelier[49] in the course of continuing at Augsburg the training he had begun in Hohenhart under his father, the notary.

The report states that in Rome Johann Friedrich Ludwig recanted the Lutheran faith and married in 1700 Clara Agnese, the daughter of Francesco Morelli, a native of Spoleto, and his wife, Anna, a Roman, resident in the parish of N. S. del Monte. By this time he had changed his name to Ludovice[50] exactly as shortly before

45. For a description of the various tribunals and their functions see *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* New York, 1912, vol. XIII, p. 147 ff.

46. Sandor Baumgarten wonders whether the balustrade of the altar of S. Ignazio in the Church of the Gesù is not actually *d'inspiration augsbourgeoise* (*Pierre Le Gros. Artiste romain,* Paris, 1933, p. 17).

47. *Nuovo studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura nelle chiese di Roma, palazzi Vaticano, di Monte Cavallo, ed altri,* Rome, 1708, p. 15 (appendix). Repeated by the same author in his *Descrizione delle pitture.... in Roma,* Rome, 1763, p. 177.

48. Born in 1664 or 1669, he was the son of the great Adolf I Gaap. In 1700-1701 he and his brother, Georg Lorenz II, were members of the Università degli Orefici in Rome (Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler,* Leipzig, 1920, vol. XIII, p. 3).

49. This and the shops of the families Drentwett and Mannlich were the greatest establishments of the kind in Augsburg.

50. Or Lodovici. In Portuguese it is generally written Ludovice and that is the form I have here adopted. In some of the documents, however, the forms Ludovici and Luduvisi are used, just as the architect's middle name is spelt Federico instead of the more modern form of Frederico.

the Dutch topographical painter, Gaspar van Wittel, had Italianized his into Vanvitelli.[51]

To account for the knowledge of architecture he was later to display and for his intimate acquaintance with seventeenth century Roman buildings we must suppose that Ludovice frequented the atelier of some great architect during the two years he spent in Rome. Probably, as Luigi Vanvitelli was afterwards to do, he listened to the explanations and lectures of the papal architect, Carlo Fontana.[52] His connections with the Gesù must have brought him into contact with Padre Andrea Pozzo, and the distinguished author of *Perspectivae Pictorum atque Architectorum,*[53] hoping to find another foreign apostle in the young German, was probably quite willing to direct his studies. Ludovice may already have picked up the rudiments of architecture in Augsburg.[54]

Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, the Portuguese biographer, would have us believe that in Germany he had become a military engineer.[55] In spite of the many inaccuracies[56] in his account of Ludovice's life there may be an element of truth in the statement. Indeed, eight years with the imperial armies would have been time enough for a clever fellow to push himself up to the rank of engineer. Unfortunately, the Inquisition report does not make known in what capacity the future architect served in the army. We have only the phrase "he enlisted[57] on which to base hypotheses. Certainly he must have had some formal training in architecture and engineering before entering upon his triumphal career in Portugal.

But what chiefly distinguished his stay in Rome was that Ludovice was employed upon that great undertaking which for over two years had been astounding the city, Padre Andrea Pozzo's elaborate plan for the decoration of the altar of S. Ignazio in the church of the Gesù.[58] Filippo Titi wrote that Ludovice was engaged to cast

51. See Luigi Vanvitelli [Jr.], *Vita dell'architetto Luigi Vanvitelli*, Naples, 1823, p. 57.

52. Carlo Fontana (1634-1714) was the principal architect of the time in Rome. He continued the style of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, which represents the more classic and restrained aspect of the Baroque as opposed to the manner of Borromini and Guarini. During his long career he served no less than five popes, proving himself a brilliant engineer and theorist. As a teacher he exercised a profound influence and through his Austrian pupils, Johann Fischer von Erlach and Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, he laid the foundations of the great Viennese school of architecture in the eighteenth century. His book *Il tempio Vaticano e sua origine con gli edifici più cospicui antichi e moderni,* Rome, 1696, with its splendid engravings, must have stood Ludovice in good stead at Mafra. For a recent monograph on Carlo Fontana see E. Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.*

53. The Jesuit, Padre Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709) was unquestionably the greatest decorator in Rome. At this time he had already made his reputation from his painting of the ceiling of S. Ignazio and was employed at the Gesù, where Ludovice worked under him. A native of Trent, in 1702 he retired from Rome to visit the court of Leopold II of Austria. The rest of his life was spent in Germany. Like so many of his contemporaries in Italy he was a theorist, teacher, and writer upon his own works. His great book, the *Perspectivae Pictorum atque Architectorum*, was printed at Augsburg in 1719 in a combination of German and Latin.

54. In the years when Ludovice was at Augsburg or in the Swabian region the principal building activities at the capital were the decorations of the interiors of churches with elaborate Italianate stuccoes. In 1682 the Saxon architect, Heinrich Eichler, had decorated the chancel of the church of St. Anna. In the same year the Bavarian *Hofstukkateur,* Giovanni Niccolò Perti, was providing the Heiligkreuz Kapelle in St. Johann at Augsburg with stucco decorations. Two years later Bishop Eustach Egolph von Westernach built the Joseph Kapelle, which was likewise richly adorned (Max. Hartig, *Augsburgs Kunst,* Augsburg, 1922). Ludovice occasionally remembered these decorations at Mafra.

55. *Op. cit.*, p. 176.

56. He states that Ludovice was born in Ratisbon and that he was already employed at Mafra in 1707 *(ibid.).*

57. *Assentou praça.*

58. For a representation of the altar as it originally existed see the engraving by Georg Conrad Bodenehr (*Perspectiva...*, part 2, fig. 60). The altar, located in the left transept of the church, was composed of four great columns overlaid with lapis and gilded bronze

the silver figure of the saint which the French sculptor, Pierre Le Gros, had designed.[59] This statue has long since disappeared, melted down by order of Pope Pius VI to pay the French indemnities of the Treaty of Tolentino. But contemporary descriptions give an idea of its richness and virtuosity: *sa chasuble dorée est semée de perles et de diamants, principalment la croix. Elevée sur un piédestal en forme de pyramide de marbres précieux liés en bronze doré....*[60] Titi also states that Ludovice cast one of the bronze reliefs designed by Angelo de'Rossi[61] for the balustrade of the altar. It was here that he worked with that Johann Adolf Gaap of Augsburg mentioned above. The casting was carried out with the greatest skill and elegance. From the evidence of this relief Ludovice already possessed an amazing technical virtuosity in the handling of metal. The Roman Jesuits had every reason to be satisfied with the ability of these German craftsmen and to recommend Ludovice to the Company in Portugal.[62]

Official documents prove that he was in Lisbon in the year 1701; on the tenth of September of the same year a contract was drawn up in which for seven years the Jesuits of Lisbon agreed to employ Ludovice, "to make silver and metal work for our use in the monasteries, colleges, and other establishments of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus in Portugal with the exception of the foreign colonies."[63] He was therefore engaged as a goldsmith and not as an architect. The contract refers to his career in Rome in the statement: "the said Federico shall be obliged to hand over the work which he has here in Rome together with his tools to the Fathers here in Rome who will send them on to Lisbon." He was promised for seven years "the annual salary or assurance of 500 *escudos*[64] at the rate 10 *julios* per *escudo* which shall be paid to him three months in advance with the understanding, however, that during his voyage and until the work begins he is to be given only the sum of seven *julios*[65] a day, because he shall be provided each day at the expense of the said Fathers with dinner and supper either cooked or uncooked according to arrangement with the Fathers." It is stressed that he is not to be compelled to stay during the whole seven years. But if he should remain after this period he must agree to give precedence to the execution of commissions from the Jesuits.

The manner of work is then described: "he shall have to carry out the work according to the model which shall be designed to the best of his ability and to work straightforwardly with all possible care to make the object correspond to the model and the said model shall first be approved by the Fathers and afterwards, if the said Federico does not carry out the work in accordance with the model,

within which was the great silver statue of the saint. Above was placed the Trinity by Bernardo Ludovisi and Lorenzo Ottone. At the sides of the altar are located the Faith Adored by Barbarians, of the French sculptor, Théodon, and the Religion Exterminating Heresy, by Pierre Le Gros.

59. *Op. cit.*, p. 16 (appendix).

60. S. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

61. A Berninesque sculptor active in Rome, Genoa, and Venice between the years 1671 and 1715. The relief represents the saint exorcising demons.

62. The matter of the actual recommendation is still a mystery. From the contract of 1701 we can only assume that the Roman Jesuits recommended Ludovice to their brothers in Lisbon, probably in 1700.

63. Torre do Tombo, *Documentos jesuiticos vindos do Tribunal de Contas, maço* 66. See Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 98.

64. The value of the Portuguese *escudo* at the time was about one dollar and twenty cents.

65. A Roman coin of the eighteenth century worth about twelve cents.

he shall be obliged to repeat the work at his own expense, and also it must be understood that the same agreement applies if the measurements should not be exact." He was to bring with him from Rome a helper[66] and his molds and tools were to be transported free of duty. He was given three hundred *escudos* in Rome for the journey which was to be made from Genoa to "Cadix or somewhere else." The Jesuits pledged themselves to procure additional men to help carry out the work when it should be necessary.

Ludovice came to Lisbon in 1701 and his eldest son, João Pedro, was born and christened there in that year.[67] He was probably at once overwhelmed with contracts for gold and silver objects to be made for the chapel at the Jesuit college of S. Antão and for the other churches of the order in Lisbon. There is evidence, however, that he eventually tired of working for the Company exclusively and broke his contract with the Jesuits, taking work from other patrons. Sousa Viterbo has found an undated document which reveals the state of affairs.[68] The rector and faculty of the Jesuit college prepared this memoir stating the terms of Ludovice's contract and concluding with the following statement: "You are requested to order that the defendant he instructed to resume immediately the work of the plaintiffs and not to occupy himself with any other and to oblige him to replace what he has taken and to repay all the losses and damages which have resulted to the plaintiffs and he shall be forgiven."

We do not know the outcome of the affair. Presumably Ludovice was forgiven, whether he fulfilled the terms of the document quoted above or not. As far as we know he never afterward encountered any opposition from the Jesuits in Portugal. Since we do not know the date of this affair it is impossible to surmise whether Ludovice continued to work as the Company's goldsmith in Lisbon. The chances are, however, that he was already on the point of embarking upon his architectural career.

There is no proof that Ludovice built anything in Portugal before he received the commission to erect the convent of Mafra, presumably in 1711. It will seem at first surprising that the man who was to become so distinguished an architect should have remained in Portugal for at least the better part of ten years without practicing his real art still more so that so vast a commission should have been awarded to a man who to the Portuguese must have appeared an untrained architect. This paradox is intensified by Volkmar Machado's celebrated intimation of a competition in which the plans of Ludovice triumphed over those of the seasoned Italian architects, Filippo Juvara and Antonio Canevari.[69] The unfortunate statement has been accepted by almost all subsequent writers on the subject,[70] and there has grown up a legend of an actual competition in which the three architects presented their drawings for the convent of Mafra, and those of Ludovice won. Some explanation

66. A *moço obreiro.*

67. Cf. the Inquisition document published by Sanches de Baena.

68. Torre do Tombro, *Documentos jesuiticos vindos do Tribunal de Contas, maço* 66. Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 100.

69. *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

70. In particular: Graf A. Raczynski, *Dictionnaire artistique du Portugal*, Paris, 1847, p. 183; Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 96; Julio Ivo, *O monumento de Mafra*, Oporto, 1930, p. 6; João Paulo Freire, Mafra. *Noticia historica-archeologica e artistica da vila e do paço conventual*, Oporto, 1933, p. 28.

was then necessary, and most of the writers followed Volkmar Machado's own suggestion that the Jesuits pushed their creature regardless of his merits and arranged that he should receive the great commission.[71] One author has even suggested that Ludovice bought the contract for the building from an unscrupulous minister.[72] The truth is that neither Juvara nor Canevari were invited to come to Portugal until after the contract had been awarded to Ludovice and work had already begun upon the buildings. Volkmar Machado, writing over a hundred years after the event, forgot that Juvara never considered coming to Portugal until 1719[73] and that Canevari came even later.[74] As a biographer he was clearly surprised that Ludovice, who to him was only an untried young German, should have received the commission for so important a building. He therefore invented the story of the Jesuit cabal and found Juvara and Canevari, who had both visited Portugal during the reign of D. João V, the most convenient architects to play the rôle of defeated co-contestants. The fact that Francesco Milizia relates that Juvara designed a royal

71. *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

72. James Murphy, *Travels in Portugal; through the Provinces of Entre-Douro e Minho, Beira, Estremadura, and Alem-Tejo, in the Years 1784 and 1790*, London, 1795, pp. 287-290.

73. M. Labò was the first writer to contest the idea of Juvara's having taken part in any competition for the design of Mafra (Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.*, vol. XIX, p. 358 ff.). From a study of the writings of two little known biographers of Juvara, Scipione Maffei (*Elogio del signor Abate Filippo Juvara*, in *Osservazioni letterarie che possono servir di continuazione al giornal de' letterati d'Italia*, Verona, 1738, vol. III, pp. 139 ff.), and G. B. Sacchetti (*Vita del Cav. Don Filippo Juvara abate di Selve e primo architetto di S. M. il re di Sardegna* in *Giornale di erudizione artistica*, Perugia, III, 1874, pp. 33 ff.), he revealed that Juvara had not left Turin until February 6, 1719, after D. João had invited him to come to Lisbon to present plans for the patriarchal church and the royal palace. Nowhere is there mention of any connection with Mafra, nor are there any existing drawings by Juvara which can in any way be connected with the Portuguese convent.

As a matter of fact, in the year of D. João V's vow to build Mafra, 1711, Filippo Juvara had not yet made his reputation as an architect. Born probably in 1676 (see the Labò article), he had spent his youth in Messina, where in 1701 he had celebrated the decorations of that Sicilian city in honor of the new Spanish sovereign in a series of eight engravings, *Amore ed ossequio di Messina in solennizzare l'acclamazione di Filippo Quinto Borbone*, Messina, 1701. In Rome he was a pupil of Carlo Fontana. It was only in November, 1714, that Juvara came to Turin as *primo architetto civile del re*. In that same year he began his great series of buildings in the capital of Vittorio Amadeo with the church of S. Filippo Neri, where Guarini had already worked. In the next four years he began the church of S. Cristina, the Superga, and the stair of the Palazzo Madama in Turin. On his return from Portugal in 1729 (by way of Paris and London?) he erected another group of buildings throughout the whole Piemonte, the most important of which was the Royal Palace at Stupinigi near Turin. In 1735 Juvara was called to Madrid to rebuild the royal palace wich had been destroyed by fire in the preceding year. The architect died in Spain in 1736.

His style represents the continuation of that classic tradition within the Baroque which had been inaugurated by Bernini and continued by Carlo Fontana. Juvara's buildings at Turin are of a marked sobriety in comparison with those of his predecessor there, Guarino Guarini, but are characterized by a use of delicate decorations, a fondness for decorative stuccoes in the eighteenth century *rocaille* taste, which distinguish them from the works of the Seicento masters.

74. Antonio Canevari (1681-c. 1750) is a Roman architect of whose life comparatively little is known. He studied with Antonio Valerij and Pier Francesco Garelli. Francesco Milizia relates that he came to Lisbon, *dopo aver architettato in Roma la Chiesa delle Stimate....* (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 251). This church of the Stimate di S. Francisco was not completed before 1721. He probably did not go to Portugal, however, until at least 1725, for in 1723 he was at work at the Roman convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in 1724 he became a member of the Accademia di S. Luca, and a year later was employed on the church and portico of S. Eustachio at Rome. His presence in Portugal is first mentioned in 1729 (Frey José da Natividade, *Fausto do Hymeneo, ou historia panegyrica dor fidelissimos reys de Portugal, nosso senhor D. Joseph I e D. Maria Ana Vitoria de Borbon*, Lisbon, 1752, p. 78). I have discussed Antonio Canevari's works at Lisbon in my doctor's thesis deposited at the Library of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.—*The Architecture of João Frederico Ludovice and Some of His Contemporaries at Lisbon, 1700-1750*. In 1702 Canevari was dismissed in disgrace from the project upon which he was then occupied—the aqueduct of Aguas Livres (Visconde de Santarem, *Quadro elementar das relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal*, Paris, 1845, vol. V, p. ccxi). He returned to Naples and in 1736 began for Charles III the summer palace at Portici. See the articles by Oskar Pollak (Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 501); and Sousa Viterbo (*op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 160-162).

palace when he was at Lisbon may have confused Volkmar Machado and encouraged the whole story of the competition.[75]

As a matter of fact, the situation is in reality not nearly so strange as it first appears. We have already seen the state of Portuguese architecture when Ludovice arrived. There were no native architects of ability. The only foreigner known to have been active as an architect in Lisbon in the first years of D. João's reign was the Maltese Carlos Gimac, who was merely employed to design triumphal arches.[76] When the king was ordered by a Franciscan friar to erect a royal convent at Mafra there was no stipulation as to its size. In fact, the indications are that Mafra was at first conceived as a much smaller unit than the immense complex that was finally built. Had he desired at first to erect at Mafra a convent on the scale of the Escorial, D. João V would probably have imported a foreign architect immediately. But for a royal building of moderate size which was to be a sort of monument to himself and his queen, the monarch required merely an architect capable of reproducing the style of the contemporary Roman school, and that architect was at hand. Ludovice must have come to Portugal highly recommended by the Jesuits of Rome. He had just taken part in one of the richest building campaigns the city had known. He was certainly a man who could reproduce in Portugal something of the magnificence of the new Gesù. If Ludovice had, as has been suggested, studied something of architecture in Rome and had continued his studies while working for the Lisbon Jesuits, it would have been easy to show the king his drawings and convince him of his technical abilities. As we shall see, the convent and palace which Ludovice finally erected at Mafra are derivative in the highest degree from contemporary monuments at Rome. It seems improbable that the Portuguese Jesuits had a great deal to do with the choice of Ludovice. They would not have been overanxious to favor a candidate whose nomination would probably have cost them an invaluable goldsmith. Finally, we must not forget the influence which the queen enjoyed over D. João's judgment. It was natural that the sister of Charles VI of Austria should approve of Italianate architects[77] and of Ludovice in particular, for he was really her fellow-countryman and the queen was fond of surrounding herself with Germans at the Portuguese court. This combination of circumstances—the lack of capable native architects and of foreigners in Portugal at the time, the recommendations of the Roman Jesuits in favor of Ludovice and his work and study in Rome, together with the probable patronage of the Austrian queen—assured João Frederico Ludovice, the apparently untried architect, the contract to build Mafra.

This commission was an incredible stroke of luck. When the Italian architects

75. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 247. His words, repeating Maffei (p. 193), are: *Andò a Lisbona; vi disegnò il Tempio Patriarchale, un Palazzo Regio, che si suppone di non più veduta magnificenza, ed altri edifizj.* Volkmar Machado wrote: *Aqui fez os desenhos para hum Patriarchal, e para o Palacio, Convento, e Basilica Mafrense, que senão executou, apezar da sua magnificencia e elegancia....* (*op. cit.*, p. 180).

76. *Descripçam do arca triunfal, que a nação ingleza mandou levantar na occasião em que as magestades dos serenissimos reys de Portugal.... forão à Cathedral de Lisboa,* Lisbon, 1708. Sousa Viterbo (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 572) has published a document which suggests that Gimac retired from the Court after Ludovice's coming into power. He rebuilt the church of the Cistercian nuns of Arouca, in the province of Beira.

77. As a matter of fact, Ludovice's Roman "master," Padre Andrea Pozzo, had been at Vienna in 1703.

arrived his local reputation was made. Juvara departed;[78] Canevari remained until his final disgrace,[79] Ludovice became the royal architect in all but name. Volkmar Machado comments upon the high salaries he received.[80]

In the year 1716 he was engaged to design a new *capella-mór* for the cathedral of Evora, an undertaking largely financed by D. João V. The arrangement of the new patriarchal church and the apartments in the royal palace as well as the building of the new *capella-mór* of the Lisbon church of S. Domingos were further royal commissions. In 1718 Ludovice entered the Irmandade de S. Lucas, the Lisbon guild of artists.[81]

Three years later, on December 10, 1720, the king appointed the architect to succeed the aged Luiz Nunes Tinoco as Master Architect of the Works of the Royal Monastery of São Vicente de Fora, a virtual sinecure which brought him seventy *mil reis* a year.[82]

In the suburb of Bemfica he bought the property known as the Quinta da Alfarrobeira. Here, on July 28, 1720, Ludovice was married for the second time, on this occasion to D. Anna Maria Verney, the daughter of Denis Verney of Lyons and Maria da Conceição Arnaut, of Auch, whose mother was a Portuguese from Marmeleiro, in the diocese of Coimbra.[83] In 1727 he built on the site an elegant Italianate villa. In 1747 he left his old town house in the Rua dos Canos at Lisbon to move into the splendid new palace at the head of the Calçada da Gloria which he had himself designed.

Ludovice outlived D. João V. Just after his father's death in 1750 the new king, D. José I, bestowed upon the architect a final honor. On the eleventh of September he signed a decree naming João Frederico Ludovice Architecto-mór or Grand Architect of Portugal.[84] The patent reads: "In consideration of the great capacity, intelligence and industry [*prestimo*] with which João Frederico Ludovici has served for forty-three years as architect to the King my Lord and Father, designing plans, diagrams, and ornaments and making models for the principal works which the same Lord ordered built.... and instructing with such direction and activity those who have worked on these buildings throughout the realm that to his teaching is due the great progress which at present the arts have made." It concludes: "I am pleased to order that he be named Grand Architect of the kingdom, with the rank and pay of a Brigadier of Infantry of the first order at the Court, and that all other civil architects shall be subordinate to him, shall respect and obey his orders in what regards my service, declaring that at the death of the said João Frederico Ludovici the said office of Grand Architect shall be suppressed without its serving as precedent to any other person." The document also refers to several military

78. Juvara left Lisbon for Paris in 1729 loaded with gifts and honors. Milizia wrote: *Ne riportò gioje, porcellane, una croce brillantata, una pensione di tre mila scudi, e fu fatto Cavalier di Cristo* (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 247).

79. *Andò in Portogallo. Ma quivi fu più infelice. Ebbe l'incombenza di far un Acquidotto, che riuscì così disgraziatamente, che l'acqua non volle mai scorrervi. Il povero Cannevari perciò se ne andò via del Portogallo colla coda tra le gambe.... (ibid.).*

80. *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

81. *Ibid.*

82. Torre do Tombo, *Chancellaria de D. João V, Officios e mercês*, livro 39, f. 71. Published by Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 100.

83. Visconde de Saches de Baena, *op. cit.*

84. Torre do Tombo, *Decretos remettidos ao Conselho de Guerra, maço* 110, no. 8. Published by Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 101.

posts which the architect had already held "without having rendered military service."

This was the official recognition of the rôle of artistic dictator which Ludovice had played at the court. He appears to have inspected and criticized almost everything built in the region of Lisbon during the first half of the eighteenth century. During the journey of the court to the Caia in 1729 Ludovice and his son, João Pedro, had accompanied the sovereigns in two special chaises.[85] He had interfered with Luigi Vanvitelli's designs for the chapel at S. Roque and had sent to Rome his directions to change it. There was scarcely a form of art at which he did not try his hand. The painter, Francisco Vieira de Matos, has written a malicious description of Ludovice's three unsuccessful attempts to make a relief portrait of D. João V to be used on a coin.[86]

Ludovice enjoyed his new post of Architecto-mór for only two years. He died in 1752. The death notice in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reads: "On the morning of the eighteenth day of the present month [January] there died comforted by all the sacraments João Federico Luduvici [sic], a native of Hall in Swabia in Germany; a man distinguished in the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, *Cavaleiro* of the Order of Christ, Grand Architect of this kingdom and Brigadier of Infantry, to which posts he was promoted by Our Lord the King on the first of September of 1750 in consideration not only of the splendor of the great and magnificent monument of Mafra and of the others which are due to his vast inspiration and to his designs but also of the service he has done the Portuguese nation in training its artists. He was placed in the parish church of N. S. da Encarnação, in which he was buried on the following day before a great gathering of the nobility and the ministers of the court."[87]

Cyrillo Volkmar Machado wrote of Ludovice, "This deserving artist modeled and cast sculpture in silver and other metals and designed ornaments and figures with the greatest mastery."[88] As we have seen, Ludovice came to Lisbon as a metal worker and was employed by the Portuguese Jesuits. Yet we have no record of what he did for them. The objects themselves have either perished in the earthquake

85. Frey José da Natividade, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 180. In 1729 the whole Portuguese court journeyed from Lisbon to the Spanish frontier of Elvas-Badajor, there to effect the exchange of two Infantas. A double wedding had taken place between members of the two royal families. The Portuguese Infanta D. Barbara had married D. Fernando, Prince of the Asturias, and the Portuguese heir-apparent had married the Spanish Infanta D. Maria Ana Vitoria de Borbon. D. João made this the occasion for an unusual display of pageantry and erected three palaces along the route to house the court. One of these, at Vendas Novas, which was built by the architect Custodio Vieira, has survived.

86. Francisco Vieira de Matos (Vieira Lusitano), *O insigne pintor e leal esposo*, Lisbon, 1780, p. 316. The poem reads:

Isto a pezar foi daquelle
Duro Cyclope Tudesco,
Que nos thesouros da graça
Real gozou cabimento.

E que da rustica esfera
De Fabro não excedendo,
Contra a natureza o nome
Pode usurpar de Arquitecto.

Tres vezes tinha este astuto
Bronte intentado a fazello
Tambem; mas lograr não pode
Da semelhança os effeitos.

Por esta causa mais forte
Foi o rancor, que no peito
Concebeo contra o Vieira
Pelo feliz seu successo.

87. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, January 25, 1752, p. 72. Sousa Viterbo also records the death notice in the parish archives, *livro 40 dos obitos*, f. 285 (*op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 101-102).

88. *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

of November, 1755, or remain unknown to us through lack of documents. The lost works are, however, reflected in a few descriptions of contemporary writers and in a series of drawings of uncertain authorship.

Frey Manoel de Sá, the chronicler of the Carmelite order in Portugal, has left a detailed account of the fittings which Ludovice prepared for the high altar of the church of N. S. do Carmo in Lisbon.[89] All disappeared at the time of the earthquake.[90] "The ornaments of the altar," Frey Manoel de Sá wrote, "are so precious that there are no others finer or more unusual at this court. The frontal and the predella are of silver, excellently wrought. Beside the six candlesticks and the cross of the same material which are ordinarily used there are others which being equal in number are yet so extraordinary that the production of each one cost 220.08 *mil reis* according to the record of payment and receipt of the sum made by the great João Federico, who executed them. They have triangular bases on one face of which is the image of Our Lady, on the other that of our patriarch, the great Elias, and on the third are the arms of the order." Frey Manoel adds that the fittings were first used on July 15, 1718. Ludovice must then have continued his activity as a goldsmith even after he had received the commission for Mafra and was already at work in Evora.

In the collection of the Museu da Arte Antiga at Lisbon there are five drawings attributed to Ludovice (Figs. 7, 8, and 9). One is marked "Federico." Another is inscribed in a similar eighteenth century hand, "This is the work João Federico Ludovice."[91] Neither are signatures. The two drawings with the name Federico are distinguished by a certain similarity of technique—a nervous penstroke combined with a rapidly applied wash. Number 178 (Fig. 7), which represents an elaborately articulate composition in which a seated figure, crowned with a mural diadem, an allegory perhaps of Lisbon, is supported by lions and two straining atlantes in antique armor, is more interesting than the coffer ornamented with cherubic heads (no. 474).

They have very little in common with the two splendid unmarked drawings (nos. 472 and 188). Number 472 (Fig. 8) represents a design for an altar cross. Only the drawing of the base is completely worked out. It is a composition of many small allegorical figures in a rich Rococo setting of shells, volutes, and weblike patterns. It bears a superficial resemblance to the Custodia de Bemposta, likewise in the Lisbon Museum, a coarse work of gilded silver heavily embossed and set with diamonds from Brazil. Number 188 (Fig. 9) is a drawing of an elegant candlestick in the same *rocaille* taste. Both show a certain kinship of design in the use of many small allegorical elements and also in the overlay of brittle marine details. Both have a finesse of technique in the use of pen and wash which is entirely different from the free and easy style of the "Federico" drawings. The comparison of these two drawings, however, is complicated by the fact that they do not represent analogous states. The altar cross is still a preliminary drawing.

89. *Memorias historicas da Ordem de Nossa Senhora do Carmo,* Lisbon, 1728, vol. I, p. 100.

90. The church itself was not entirely destroyed. Although the vaults of the naves and aisles fell in and have never been repaired, the rest of the building has survived little changed and is now used as an open-air archaeological museum.

91. *Este hé de João Federico Ludovice.*

The details have not been worked over, the shadows have not been arranged, and the small figures have merely been outlined. The design for the candlestick, however, is a finished work. In the first place, the quality of the paper is finer. The drawing was evidently copied after the design had been made. The outlines have taken on the precision of an engraving and the shadows are carefully indicated. The drawing has a smoothness which that of the altar cross lacked. The fifth drawing (no. 475), which represents a plaque or sconce, probably a secondary element for some complicated composition, is boldly painted in a heavy green wash. It too seems to be a finished drawing, although it reveals little of the personality of the artist who made it.

To assign any of these drawings to the hand of Ludovice is an impossibility. There are no authentic architectural drawings from which to determine the characteristcs of Ludovice's draftsmanship. Although the more finished drawings seem more closely connected with the extremely delicate details of his architecture, there is no reason to believe that either the altar cross or the candlestick were actually drawn by Ludovice. Nor are the museum's attributions to be taken too seriously. There has always been a tendency in Portugal to attribute to Ludovice all kinds of work of the period because he was the most eminent artistic figure of the eighteenth century, just as at Naples countless palaces, churches, and villas have been assigned to Luigi Vanvitelli on the assumption that the outstanding architect of the time must have built them. We must, therefore, look with the greatest caution upon these five drawings and, if we assign them to Ludovice's atelier, let us do so only because it was the most prominent of its kind at the time in Lisbon and because these drawings seem to be typical of the lost objects produced there.

We have evidence that during these early years of his stay at Lisbon the architect was called upon to decorate at least one church for a great religious ceremony. The pamphlet entitled *Relaçao das festas na beatificação do Padre João Francisco Regis*[92] describes the appearance of the Jesuit church of S. Roque at the time of the celebration of the beatification of a seventeenth century French Jesuit[93] in 1716: "The portal of the church was covered with a work of singular form, a design of the famous Federico. It displayed a pavilion supported by two flying angels revealing a portrait of the Blessed Father João Francisco Regis, a work of the celebrated D. Julio,[94] whose hand, if it did not paint it, at least directed the execution of the whole work, praise enough for its author to have been the pupil of such a master."

This is the extent of our knowledge of Ludovice's work as a goldsmith and decorator in Lisbon. Nothing has come down to us which can be rightly attributed to him.

92. A pamphlet published anonymously at Lisbon in 1717.

93. Jean François Regis. Born in 1597 in the south of France, he was educated by the Jesuits at Béziers. In 1616 he entered the novitiate of the Company at Toulouse and in 1631 said his first mass. During the next nine years, until his death in the year 1640, he devoted himself to the exausting labors of a traveling preacher, visiting constantly the Jesuit missions throughout the provinces of Languedoc and Provence, and distinguishing himself for his piety and his charitable actions. Beatified on May 18, 1716, by decree of Pope Clement XI, issued at the behest of D. João V, he was canonized by Clemente XII on April 5, 1737 (De Curley, *St. Jean-François Regis*, Lyons, 1893).

94. D. Giulio Cesare da Femine, or Fermine, Genoese painter long resident in Lisbon, whose religious paintings had earned him an immense reputation. C. V. Machado says that he entered the Irmandade de S. Lucas October 18, 1720, and served as its *Juiz* in the next year. In 1736 he was already dead (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

FIG. 7—*Drawing for Candelabrum*

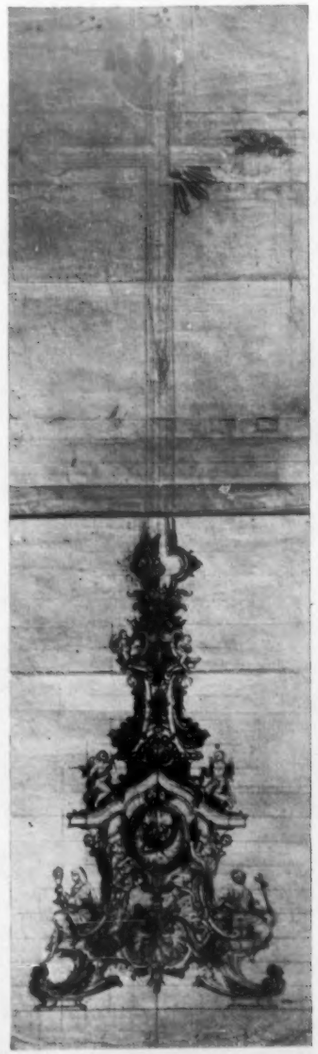

FIG. 8—*Drawing for Altar Cross*

FIG. 9—*Drawing for Candelabrum*

Lisbon, Museu de Arte Antiga

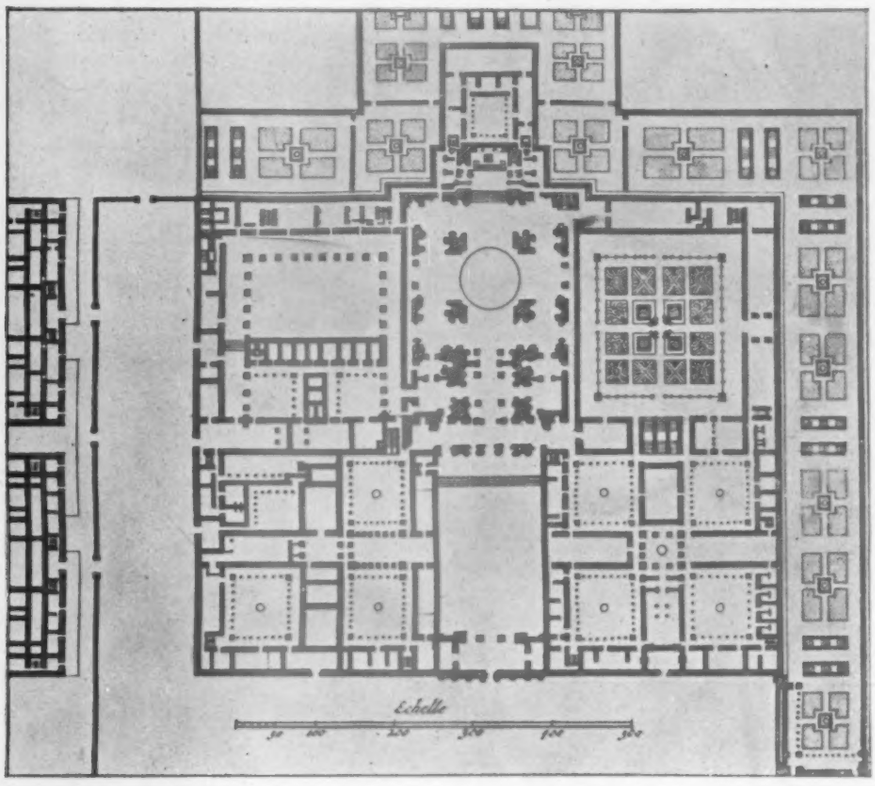

FIG. 10—*Escorial: Plan*
(*From* Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal, *by Don Alvarez de Colmenar*)

FIG. 11—*Mafra, Convent: Engraving of Elevation*
(*From* Gaticanea, *by João Jorge de Carvalho*)

Documentary evidence is scarce.[95] We have, therefore, only the most fragmentary acquaintance with this aspect of Ludovice's career in Lisbon, a minor aspect, indeed, but one which must have occupied him almost as much as the architecture for which he is chiefly known.

Mafra

The Foundation and Construction

The convent at Mafra,[96] the largest monument not only of this period but of the whole history of Portuguese architecture, was built at the order of an obscure Franciscan friar. In spite of the efforts of writers to disprove the "legend" of the origin of Mafra,[97] it appears that the story in really true. The account was first published by Frey Joseph de Jesus Maria in 1728 and was amplified by Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado in his book on the dedication of Mafra, printed in 1751.[98] Both writers were members of the order of Arrabida, a unit of the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan order, to whose friars the convent had been given.

The order of Arrabida is one of the most interesting religious manifestations in Portuguese history. It was founded in 1542 by Frey Martinho de Sta. Maria. He, curiously enough, was a Spaniard from Jaen, of the family of Benevides, of the Condes de S. Estéban del Puerto.[99] He had entered the Franciscan order and was making a pilgrimage to the monastery of N. S. de Guadalupe, when he met the Portuguese nobleman, D. João de Lencastre.[100] In the course of their conversations D. João offered to give the Franciscan the Serra da Arrabida, a fertile mountain near his estates at Azeitão, to the south of Lisbon, to found a monastic retreat in honor of the Virgin. Frey Martinho accepted and went to Portugal along with S. Pedro de Alcántara,[101] to build the first house at Arrabida.

Their discipline was severe, they lived like anchorites; but in spite of their seclusion, the fame of Arrabida spread. Franciscans came to stay there and left to found houses elsewhere on the Arrabida pattern. Their patrons, the powerful family of Lencastre, the Duques de Torres Novas and Aveiro, and later the Marquezes de Gouveia and the Condes de Sta. Cruz, aroused the interest of the court in the new foundation. The kings, D. João IV and D. Pedro II, interested themselves in the

95. Sousa Viterbo has nothing to contribute in his *Artefices portuguezes ou domiciliados em Portugal*, Coimbra, 1917.

96. A village some thirty-seven kilometres to the northwest of Lisbon, located on a plain between the mountains of Cintra and Montejunto within sight of the Atlantic. The convent is now used as an artillery school for the Portuguese army.

97. Joaquim Conceição Gomes, *O monumento de Mafra*, Mafra, 1866, p. 6; and Aires de Sá, *A arte e a natureza em Portugal*, Oporto, 1904.

98. Frey Joseph de Jesus Maria, *Espelho de penitentes e chronica da provincia de Sta. Maria da Arrabida*, Lisbon, 1728, 2 vols; and Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado, *Monumento sacro da fabrica, e solemnissima sagração da santa basilica do real convento, que junto à villa de Mafra dedicou a N. Senhora, e Santo Antonio a magestade augusta do maximo rey, D. João V*, Lisbon, 1751, pp. 1-3.

99. Frey Joseph de Jesus Maria, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 5-16.

100. D. João de Lencastre, Marquez de Torres Novas, was created first Duque de Aveiro by D. João III on January 1, 1547. He was the son of D. Jorge, Duque de Coimbra, the illegitimate son of King D. João II and D. Beatriz de Vilhena.

101. St. Pedro de Alcántara (1499-1515), one of the great reformers of the Franciscan order in Spain, entered the order at the age of sixteen. He was in Portugal from 1540 to 1553. In 1561 he founded the new Franciscan province of S. José in Spain with a severe rule in keeping with the austerity of his own existence. During the last years of his life he corresponded with St. Teresa de Avila, encouraging her in her reform of the Carmelite Order. St. Pedro de Alcantara was beatified in 1622 and was canonized by Pope Clemente IX in 1669.

affairs of Arrabida, and the latter's sister, Queen Catherine of England, founded a house of Arrabidan friars in London.[102] In 1560 Pope Pius IV had created a Province of Arrabida, which Clement IX in 1705 expanded into the Provincia da Imaculada Conceição de Portugal. By the end of the reign of D. Pedro II, the order counted no less than twenty-seven different houses in Portugal, of which the greatest were those in Lisbon, the convents of S. José and Sta. Catharina de Ribamar, S. Pedro de Alcántara, and that of the Boa Viagem at Caxias.

Yet the mother house of Arrabida always continued to be the lifespring of the order. Gradually that

Alta Serra deserta, donde vejo
As agoas do Oceano d'uma banda,
E doutra já salgadas as do Tejo,[103]

was covered with chapels in honor of various Franciscan saints and the cells of anchorites and hermits. Here Frey Agostinho da Cruz,[104] one of the finest poets of the Portuguese Renaissance, wrote his verses and sometimes at night angelic voices were heard to sing through the Serra da Arrabida.[105] The grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici, when he visited Portugal in 1673, is said to have found Arrabida the most interesting place he saw.[106]

Such was the order of Arrabida, which in the reign of D. João V enjoyed an influence with the king second only to that of the Jesuits. He often lunched and dined with the friars in their convents and made pilgrimages to Arrabida itself. D. João liked the peculiar devotions of the members of the order, their asceticism, and their profession of complete poverty. An agreeable atmosphere of mysticism hung over the Serra da Arrabida and all its ramifications. Of the many friars who subsisted upon the charity of noble families in Lisbon, several had access to the royal palace. One of these, the Venerable Frey Antonio de S. José, was responsible for the founding of Mafra.[107]

In the year 1711 D. João V and D. Marianna had been married for three years, but as yet they had had no children. The court was alarmed, for there seemed no remedy to the situation. One day, Frey Joseph de Jesus Maria tells us, D. Nuno da Cunha,

102. Frey Joseph de Jesus Maria, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 375.

103. Frey Agostinho da Cruz, *Elegia II, Da Arrabida*, lines 1-3. See the edition of his works, *Varias Poezias*, Lisbon, 1771, p. 81. The lines may be freely translated: "High desolate mountain range from which I see the Ocean's waters on one hand and yonder, mingling with their brine, the Tagus."

104. Frey Agostinho da Cruz (1540-1619). In the house of Infante D. Duarte he met the second Duque de Aveiro, D. Alvaro de Lencastre, and for his duchess began to write his mystic poems. Retiring suddenly to Arrabida, he gave himself over to a life of austere devotions. His elegiac poetry was first collected and published in 1771 (see Mendes dos Remedios, *Obras de Frey Agostinho da Cruz, Subsidios para o estudo da historia da literatura portugueza*, XXI, Coimbra, 1918).

105. Frey Joseph de Jesus Maria, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 82.

106. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 84.

107. The friar, who died in 1711, was known either as *o descalço*, from the fact that he was entirely barefoot at all times, or *da India*, because in 1692 he had made a celebrated journey with the new bishop of Malaca, D. Fr. Antonio de Sta. Teresa, to India. He was famed for his mortifications (when at Arrabida he habitually slept in an open sepulcher) and for his powers of healing, having cured Infanta D. Teresa, the daugther of D. Pedro II, of a severe illness. In the last few years of his life Frey Antonio inhabited a chapel of the Arrabidan hospital in Lisbon, in constant adoration of the sacrament (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 747-759).

Royal Chaplain and Grand Inquisitor of Portugal, met Frey Antonio de S. José in the palace. He spoke to him of "that fruit of matrimony so much desired." Frey Antonio enigmatically replied, "The king shall have offspring if he so desires," and then vanished.[108] Several days later, when D. Nuno da Cunha and the Conde de Santa Cruz again encountered Frey Antonio da India in the palace, they asked him to explain his statement. This time the friar replied, "Let the king promise God to erect a convent in the village of Mafra[109] dedicated to St. Anthony and God will straightway give him children."

The king is said to have vowed to build the convent and the Visconde de Vila Nova de Cerveira, D. Thomaz de Lima Noronha e Vasconcellos, whose estates were at Mafra, offered the land.[110] The then Franciscan Provincial, Frey João dos Martires, immediately ordered all the Arrabidan houses to pray for the queen's safe and rapid delivery. On December 4, 1711, Infanta D. Maria Barbara de Bragança was born.[111]

Fortunately we do not have to determine whether the Venerable Frey Antonio de S. José actually wrought a miracle. At the time it was considered one, and the king, having promised to build the convent, was prepared to carry out his vow.

As early as September and October 1711, before the infanta's birth, D. João V had issued decrees leading up to the *alvará* ordering the founding of a Franciscan convent at Mafra: "I the king do make known that for just reasons and for the especial devotion I bear the glorious St. Anthony and in his honor I am pleased to grant permission that a convent dedicated to the same saint be founded in the village of Mafra; the number of friars being limited to only thirteen,[112] with the understanding that the said convent is to belong to the province of the Capuchin friars of Arrabida...."[113]

On October 26, 1714, the king signed a *carta regia* in which he named Antonio

108. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 759. Frey João states that when D. Nuno da Cunha met Frey Antonio de José the *mordomo-mór*, D. Martino Martins Mascarenhas, Conde de Santa Cruz, was also present (*op. cit.*, pp. 1-3).

109. Frey Antonio de S. José was himself a native of the village of Mafra.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3. It appears that since 1622 the Visconde de Villa Nova de Cerveira had been attempting to found a convent at Mafra, but either the king or the Franciscan Provincial had refused premission.

111. But there is another version of the story, contained in a manuscript of the Pombaline Collection at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (Alberto Pimentel *As amantes de D. João V*, Lisbon, 1892, p. 71). The author denies that Frey Antonio named Mafra as the site of the future convent and asserts that immediately after the prophecy D. João ordered the establishment to be built near the site of the present Basilica do Sagrado Coração de Jesus, in the district of Buenos Aires at Lisbon. The manuscript adds that the queen at the request of her *estribeiro-mór*, Visconde de Vila Nova de Cerveira, whose lands were at Mafra, persuaded D. João to have the convent erected there instead. On the strength of this assertion, the most recent writer on Mafra, João Paulo Freire, is led to speculate that the Visconde de Vila Nova suggested Mafra as the site and offered his lands to gain the royal favor (*op. cit.*, p. 26).

Another theory, that Mafra was chosen because it sheltered the smallest and poorest monastic community to be found at the time in Portugal, a theory which Walter Crum Watson supported (*op. cit.*, p. 262), seems to be a Victorian legend first printed in the writings of Lady Catharine Charlotte Jackson (*A Formosa Lusitania*, Oporto, 1877, p. 249). Still another explanation is offered by Joseph Baretti (*A Journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain, and France*, London, 1770, vol. I, p. 247), who wrote that Mafra was chosen because it was the first land of the Portuguese coast which Archduchess Marianna had seen on her way to Lisbon. It was, therefore to be a thank offering for a safe voyage. "His Majesty, the most friar-ridden King that ever existed," Baretti wrote, "easily granted her request. He went even so far beyond it, as to add the palace, the convent, the garden, and the park, that he might duly honour the whole spot that was blessed by the first glance of his august bride. An odd piece of gallantry!"

112. In memory of the thirteen days of the cult of St. Anthony (João Paulo Freire, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

113. Torre do Tombo, *Chancellaria de D. João V*, vol. XXXV, f. 355.

Soares de Faria and Maximo de Carvalho, "for the exercise of receipts and payments."[114] The latter appointment is confirmed in an *alvará* of the same date.[115] These are the only documents which I know to exist in connection with the founding of Mafra. It is not known when Ludovice actually received the commission for the convent nor when he became the architect of Mafra.

Between the *alvará* of 1711 and the laying of the first stone of Mafra, which took place in 1717, six years had elapsed. It is difficult to determine what was going on in this time, for the chroniclers have little to say about the interval. We know that just after the birth of Infanta D. Maria Barbara three Arrabidan friars went to live at Mafra, where, "with the alms of the faithful they built four cabins of wood and four small cells to be able to live there with greater comfort."[116] This was the humble nucleus of the convent of Mafra. The friars remained for six years in virtual seclusion.

Meanwhile the king is said to have sent an agent, Antonio Rebello da Fonseca, to arrange the purchase of land in Mafra.[117] D. João V had never accepted the Visconde de Vila Nova's offer of his quinta[118] and land had to be procured elsewhere.[119] It took two years for Antonio Rebello da Fonseca to choose the site, "wherefore the king ordered that the lands be evaluated that the various owners on that spot be promptly paid."[120]

During this time Ludovice was preparing the plans for Mafra. The scarcity of architectural drawings which can be identified with Mafra makes it impossible to trace the evolution of the building. We can study the monument only in its finished state. There is no way of telling how far Mafra as it exists today follows the original drawings. D. João V had not promised Frey Antonio that he would build a convent of immense proportions capable of housing several hundred friars joined to a church and palace of the dimensions of those at the Escorial in Spain. It is probable that in the six years before the work was begun at Mafra the proposed building underwent a series of transformations on paper, as the king became more and more interested in the project, adding in successive stages to the complex. We have reference to various enlargements of the building. The *alvará* of 1711 mentions accomodations for only thirteen friars. Certainly Frey Antonio da India had not specified a large convent and D. João V had not promised to build one. Yet, Frey Claudio da Conceição informs us that when the church was almost completed and arrangements had been made *for eighty friars* it was determined to enlarge the convent to house three hundred.[121] Thus it appears that the conventual part of Mafra was enlarged at least three times in the course of its construction. Probably similar changes took place in the scale of the other portions of the monument.

The first mention of the king's going to Mafra is in 1717. The *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the official organ of the Portuguese court, thus reported on the ninth of September: "Our Lord the King went last week to the town of Cintra, whence he passed to that

114. *Ibid.*, vol. XLII, f. 157.
115. *Ibid.*, vol. XCIV, f. 144.
116. Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
118. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *Gabinete Historico*, vol. VIII, p. 68.
119. Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
120. *Ibid.*
121. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 125.

of Mafra to view a site for a convent of Arrabidan Capuchins which he desires to found there."[122] This was two months before the laying of the first stone of Mafra.[123]

The greater part of the convent of Mafra was constructed in the space of twelve years, between the ceremonies of November, 1717, and the consecration, which took place in 1730. Every effort was made to complete the work as rapidly as possible. Francisco Xavier da Silva says that D. João V had a passion for seeing his architectural untertakings speedily carried out.[124]

Indeed, the task was colossal. Throughout the building of Mafra between fifteen and twenty thousand men were employed there each day.[125] In the peak years of 1729 and 1730 Frey Claudio da Conceição writes that some forty-five thousand men were at work.[126] Even after the dedication, in 1731, there were still fifteen thousand workmen at Mafra.[127]

The majority of these men had come from the Portuguese provinces in search of work at Lisbon. A whole town of small houses built of wood brought from the northern provinces had been erected for them.[128] There were hospitals, which in 1731 had taken care of 17,000 men.[129] An Evora manuscript states that it cost nine thousand *cruzados*[130] a day to feed the workers.[131] Soldiers and even gentlemen of the court to please the king joined in making the building progress. All over the country bricks were being made and were being distributed from the towns of Santarem and Alemquer over especially built roads to Mafra. Frey Claudio says that they were piled in such mountains that "there seemed to be enough to make a city of them.[132] Everywhere about the region hung a cloud of acrid smoke from the innumerable cement furnaces. Stone was brought from the nearby quarries of Pero Pinheiro, and marble from Cintra and the province of Alentejo.

There were many improvised feats of engineering. "Likewise there displayed the greatest expedition in the bringing of the stones from the stonecutters to the structure 480 men who worked with wood and rope and are commonly called *mariolas*.[133] Frey Claudio praises the inventions of João Pedro Ludovice[134] and Custodio

122. Vol. II, p. 284.

123. That ceremony took place November 17, 1717. A wooden church of considerable size and richness had been erected over the site of the crossing of the future church. Two days before the ceremony this whole structure had been blown down by a strong wind and in great haste had been rebuilt. The ceremonies began on November 16, when, inside the wooden church, in the presence of D. João V and the canons of the patriarchate a cross was blessed on the site of the future *altar-mór* of the basilica of Mafra. On the next morning a procession consisting of the patriarch of Lisbon, D. Thomas de Almeida, the municipal authorities, the king and nobles, went to lay the first stone of Mafra (Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado, *op. cit.*, p. 5). We are told that the monarch was lodged in the palace of the Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira. Several great banquets were held in connection with the celebrations *(ibid.)*.

124. Padre Francisco Xavier da Silva, *Elogio funebre e historico do muito alto, poderoso, augusto, pio, e fidelissimo Rey de Portugal, e Senhor, D. João V...*, Lisbon, 1750, p. 91.

125. Damião Mestre, Freire Andrade, *Obras que se fizerão na ocazião que se edificou o celebre Templo de Mafra*, Biblioteca Publica de Evora, ms. CIX/1-5, no. 14.

126. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 147.

127. Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

128. Frey Claudio says that the town was called by the wits of the time, *a ilha da Madeira* (*op. cit.*, vol. VIII, pp. 130-131).

129. Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

130. The *cruzado* had at this time the approximate value of 60 cents.

131. D. Mestre, Freire Andrade, *op. cit.*

132. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 152.

133. *Ibid. Mariola* is a word applied to porters.

134. Baptized in Lisbon on the second of February, 1701 (Sanches de Baena, *op. cit.*). He seems to have served on various occasions as an assistant to his father. We know that he accompanied him to the

Vieira[135] for raising stones.[136] The culmination of these activities came when the great stone that closed the dome was put in place. Eighty-six teams of oxen and no less than six hundred and twelve men succeeded in doing it, the invaluable Frey Claudio assures us, in less than two hours.[137] We know that Manoel da Maya built a simplified aqueduct which was considered a great wonder.[138]

At the same time there was considerable activity outside Portugal. Frey Claudio says that men were waiting constantly for new orders for Mafra in *Roma, Veneza, Milão, Hollanda, e Francia.*[139] Rare marbles were sent from Italy because St. Carlo Borromeo had recommended that particular species for use in sacristies. From Brazil came shipments of a wood called *angelim,*[140] "for doors and windows of the church and convent, doorsills of the cells, sleeping rooms, refectory, etc., because the wood is little given to decaying."[141] Not the least expensive of these importations were the innumerable Italian singers and the teachers of plain chant brought from Rome for the Arrabidan convent.[142] Between the years 1728 and 1734 a voluminous and frantic correspondence passed between an official of the court, José Correa de Abreu, and the then Portuguese ambassador in Rome, José Maria da Fonseca e Evora, ordering for Mafra every religious bauble to be found in Italy.[143] D. João V insisted upon having plans and measured drawings of Roman sacristies, vestibules, and choir lofts so that those at Mafra could be rapidly constructed on the same dimensions. Haste was so important an element in the building of Mafra that D. Henrique de Almeida made a poem upon it.[144]

Caia (see note 85). He was *licenciado em canones* by the University of Coimbra. He received the Order of Christ in 1734, and on April 18, 1736, was made a familiar of the Holy Office (Sanches de Baena, *op. cit.*). Ludovice had another son, by his second wife, who practiced architecture. We have record of a José Joaquim, son of João Frederico Ludovice, who designed the church and convent of Espirito Santo in Lisbon and who died at As Caldas da Rainha on July 23, 1803 (C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, p. 178).

135. An engineer who worked at Mafra, Vendas Novas, and upon the fortifications throughout the country (document of 1733, Torre do Tombo, *Decretos remettidos ao Conselho de Guerra, maço* 92, no. 13). In the next year we know that he was *architecto real, architecto dos paços da Ribeira, architecto dos paços de Cintra, Almeirim, e Salvaterra, architecto do mosteiro da Batalha, architecto da Provincia do Alentejo, architecto da Camara de Lisboa,* and *medidor das obras e fortalezas da barra e do castello de S. Jorge* (Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario,* vol. III, pp. 188–189). He died in 1747 and was succeeded in all these offices by the architect Carlos Mardel.

136. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 121.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

138. Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario*, vol. II, p. 127. Born in Lisbon, the son of a glove-maker, he received the order of Christ, became a teacher of the Prince of Brazil, a colonel, and then a brigadier of infantry, *guarda-mór* of the Torre do Tombo, the national archives, in 1745. In 1754 he was made *engenheiro-mór* of Portugal. Manoel da Maya died in 1768 (Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, p. 255; Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario*, vol. II, pp. 124-131). His principal buildings were the baths at As Caldas da Rainha which he began for D. João V in 1747 (Augusto da Silva Carvalho, *Memorias das Caldas da Rainha (1484-1884)*, Lisbon, 1933, pp. 139 ff.).

139. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 127.

140. A wood almost as dark as ebony, used extensively in Portugal for the decoration of sacristies.

141. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

143. *Cartas de José Correa de Abreu para o Rev.mo P. Fr. José da Fonseca e Evora,* B. N. de Lisboa, *caixa* 41, no. 7. Like Mafra, the Benedictine monastery of Ottobeuren in Swabia had its agents in Rome, as well as Augsburg and Vienna, to purchase decorations (Norbert Lieb, *Ottobeuren und die Barockarchitecktur Ostschwabens*, Augsburg, 1933, p. 6).

144. Mafra inspired a considerable number of such poems. That of D. Henrique Henriques de Almeida, *A El-Rey mandando edificar em muito breve tempo a magestosa basilica de S. Antonio de Mafra*, and the series of sonnets by Manoel Pereira da Costa, entitled *Caliope Sacra*, had the good fortune to be published. The majority are still in manuscript. In the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (codex ms. 683) there is an anonymous sonnet, *Ao real templo de Mafra e a seu regio fundador*, and one by Padre Frey Manoel Baptista de Castro, *A singular e sobre todas admiravel obra de Mafra, erecta pela real grandeza do augustissimo senhor rey de Portugal D. João V.* In the library at Coimbra there are two more sonnets, *A real obra da igreja de Mafra*, signed "C. M." The most diversified collection is that of the Evora codex CIX/1-5,

D. João V visited Mafra only a few times while it was in course of construction. Once, on the fourteenth of July, 1718,[145] and again on the twentieth of October[146] the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reports that the king had been to Mafra. On the sixth of October, 1721, he found the works greatly advanced.[147] There is no further mention of his going to Mafra until the dedication of the convent.[148]

Ludovice headed the staff of men in charge of the building of Mafra. The king had appointed him chief architect, although there is no document preserving the appointment. Beneath him worked a corps of engineer architects headed by his son, João Pedro Ludovice, Custodio Vieira, and Manoel da Maya. Whether these men were personally responsible for the design of any part of the great building we do not know.[149] If they were, they conformed to the general style which João Frederico Ludovice had set, for stylistically Mafra seems the creation of one man.

Beneath these worked a number of minor architects and engineers. A few of their names have come down to us, as that of José Cardoso Ramalho, who later went to Rio de Janeiro.[150] Two Milanese, Carlo Battista Garvo and his son, Antonio Battista, according to Frey Claudio da Conceição, had charge of the stone masons.[151] Sousa Viterbo, however, found no documents mentioning them.[152] It is just possible that the friar confused their names with that of the Spaniards D. Felipe Antonio Gavila and his son, D. Antonio.[153] D. Felipe was in charge of the stone quarries.

The superintendent of the work was named Leandro de Mello e Faria.[154] We have already seen that in the *carta regia* of 1714 Antonio Soares de Faria and Maximo de Carvalho were named to the fiscal posts.

no. 14. There are to be found a sonnet by Alexandre de Sousa Freire, Captain General of Maranhão, on the successful building of a road to Mafra, that of Luiz Borges de Carvalho on the king's completing the basilica of Mafra, and that curious Spanish sonnet of D. Joaquim de S. Anna, *Tu sagrado respecto obedecido.*

Distinctly superior to these productions are the poems of the Oratorian Raphael Bluteau and Thomas Pinto Brandão. Father Bluteau wrote a series of ten Latin poems of considerable distinction entitled, *Mafra centum carminibus seu totidem famae linguas....* The comic poet, Pinto Brandão, published in 1730 the amusing and lengthy verses, *Função real da sagração do templo de Mafra—Sylva,* in which a series of outlandish personages describe to the author their impressions of the ceremony of the consecration of Mafra. In the same year the poet wrote the obscure *Segunda jornada a Mafra, por outro caminho e pelo mesmo Thomaz Pinto Brandão—Romance em el.*

The Minorite, Frey Joseph de Nossa Senhora, published six anagrams on the consecration of the Convent of Mafra in 1731. In the Lisbon Library there is a manuscript anagram set down in elaborate bright red calligraphy.

145. Vol. III, p. 224.

146. Vol. III, p. 336.

147. Vol. VII, p. 328.

148. That ceremony was one of the most magnificent of the reign. Beginning on the eighteenth of October, 1730, it culminated on the twenty-second, which was D. João's forty-first birthday. Four regiments of infantry and cavalry were drawn up about the façade of the convent on the final day of the celebrations. At seven in the morning the patriarch entered the church; D. João V and all the infantes then mounted their thrones. At the words, *In nomine Patris,* a vast procession began to move around the basilica. The Evora manuscript mentioned above says that it was composed of monks and friars from every religious house in Lisbon (D. Mestre, F. Andrade, *op. cit.*). The mass was sung by the Cardinal da Cunha.

There followed a great luncheon at which King João, the Prince of Brazil, and Infante D. Antonio (the king's third brother), removing their hats and their swords, proceeded to serve the dignitaries of the order. This was considered a fine royal example of Franciscan humility. Afternoon services began with a great sermon by Frey Fernando da Soledade, *Hodie hunc domui salus a Deo facta est.* Straightway there followed the commemoration vespers. The altar was brilliantly lighted by four hundred candles as the king and his young brother Infante D. Antonio, took the relics and deposited them with the Bishop of Leiria. It was only at the singing of matins that the royalties withdrew (Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-87).

149. Joaquim Conceição Gomes, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

150. Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario*, vol. III, pp. 187-190.

151. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 119.

152. Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario*, vol. I, pp. 416-417.

153. *Ibid.*

154. Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 120.

Although the church was completed in 1730, the rest of the convent had not been finished at that time. When Joseph Baretti, the Anglicized Italian traveler, visited Mafra in 1770, he wrote that several of the interiors were not yet completed and that a corps of some two hundred workmen were still employed upon the building.[155]

The Plan

Before discussing the architecture of the convent at Mafra we must insist that the Portuguese monument is not a copy of the Escorial. There has been a literary tradition of imparting to D. João V the desire of imitating, and of course surpassing, the Spanish monastery, and to his architect the task of reproducing it. Among the Portuguese writers of D. João's reign not one mentions the Escorial in connection with Mafra, or attempts to compare the two monuments. Both, it is true, are palaces combined with convents. This is probably what led the Spanish traveler, D. Juan Álvarez de Colmenar, to describe the two royal convents near Lisbon as *l'Escurial et Belem*.[156] The tradition of a Portuguese Escorial at Mafra may well have begun with the statement of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, "D. João V wished to make of Mafra a second and perhaps better Escorial..."[157] That Mafra was built in imitation of the Escorial became guidebook dogma in the nineteenth century. Both were built upon a "gridiron plan," both were erected by despotic religious maniacs, both were combinations of palaces with churches and monastic buildings, and Mafra, being later, more "gaudy and ostentatious," was considered an inferior copy of the Escorial. Walter Crum Watson, the English architect, seems to have been the first to look at the two buildings and to find no similarities. He contrasts their plans:

"It is not without interest to compare the plan of this palace or monastery with the more famous Escorial. Both cover almost exactly the same area,[158] but while in the Escorial the church is thrust back at the end of a vast patio, here it is brought forward to the very front. There the royal palace occupies only a comparatively small area in the northwest corner of the site, the monastic part of the whole lying south of the entrance patio and of the church; here the monastic part in thrust back almost out of sight, and the palace stretches all along the west front except where it is interrupted in the middle by the church."[159]

155. Joseph Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain, and France*, London, 1770, vol. I, p. 247.

156. D. Juan Álvarez de Colmenar, *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal*, Amsterdam, 1741, vol. III, p. 280. The Hieronomite monastery founded on the site of Restelo by a papal bull of 1496, begun by D. Manoel in 1502 and continued throughout the sixteenth century, is the greatest monument of the Manoeline style in the region of Lisbon (A. D. de Castro e Sousa, *Descripção do real mosteiro de Belem com a noticia da sua fundição*, Lisbon, 1837; Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Noticia historica e descriptiva do mosteiro de Belem*, Lisbon, 1842; J. Possidonio Narcizo da Silva, *Mémoire descriptive du projet d'une restauration pour l'église monumentale de Belem à Lisbonne*, Lisbon, 1867; Felippe Nery Faria e Silva, *N. S. do Restello, os freires de Christo e a egreja da Conceição Velha*, Lisbon, 1897; F. W. Feilchenfeld, *Die Meisterwerke der Bauhunst in Portugal. Das Kloster "dos Jeronymos" zu Belem*, Leipzig, 1908; Cesar da Silva, *O mosteiro dos Jeronymos. Historia e descripção do monumento*, Lisbon, 1925; José Dias Sanches, *O mosteiro dos Jeronymos e Torre de Belem*, Lisbon, 1929; Reynaldo dos Santos, *O mosteiro de Belem. A arte em Portugal*, Oporto, 1930; *A conclusão do edificio dos Jeronymos. Parecer da Comissão Nacional de Monumentos*, Lisbon, no date).

157. *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

158. Mafra, however, contains less open space in courtyards.

159. *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

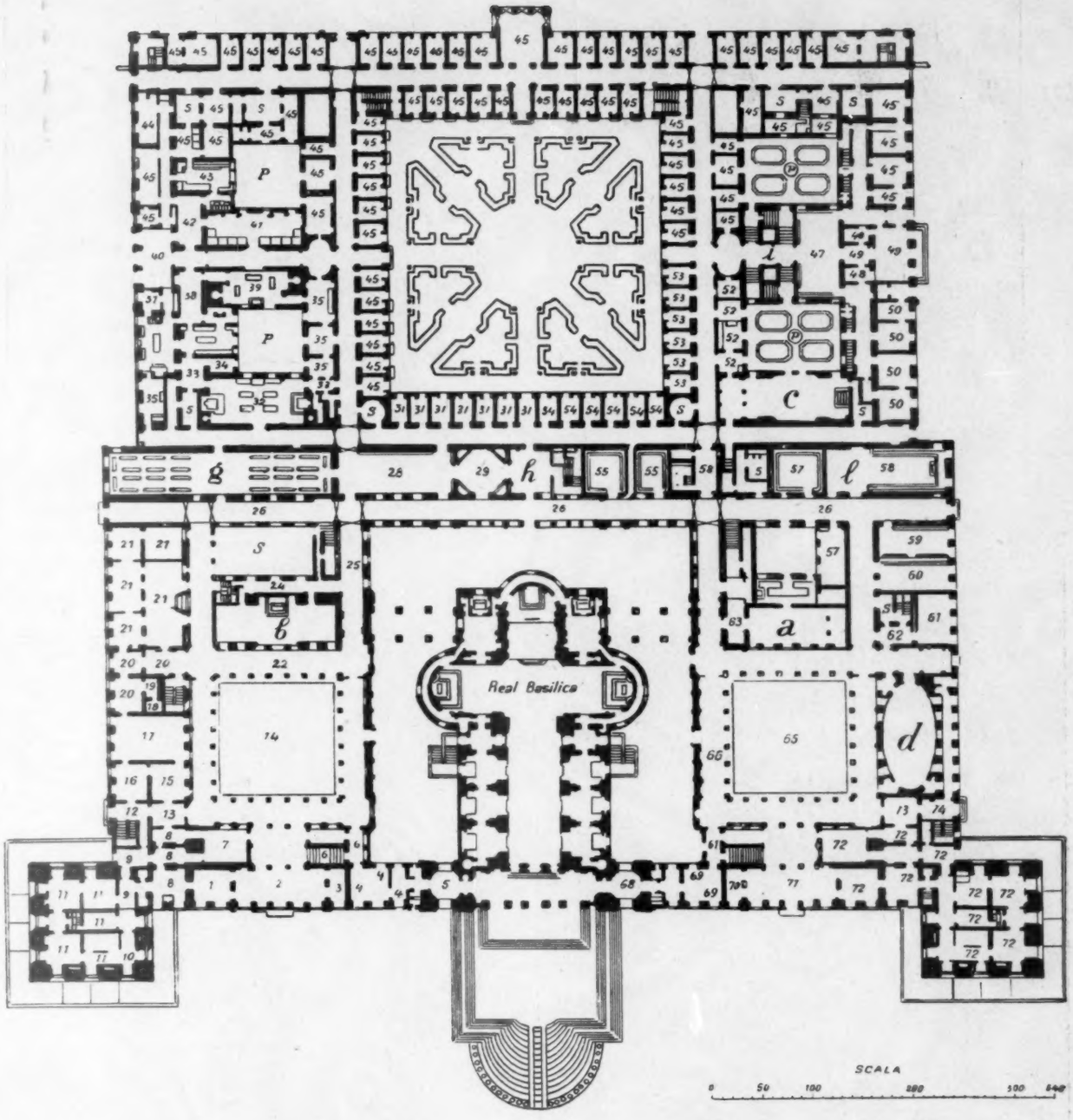

FIG. 12—*Mafra, Convent: Plan* (*From* Mafra, *by Julio Ivo*)

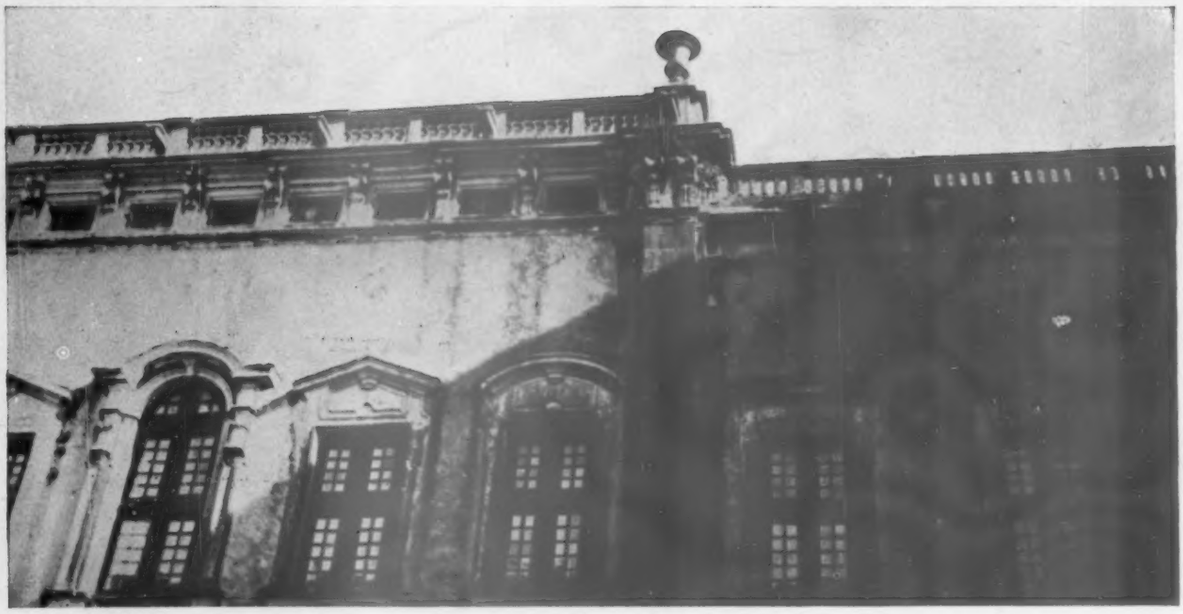

FIG. 13—*Entablature of Main Façade*

FIG. 14—*Entrance on Main Façade*

FIG. 15—*Windows of Side Façade*

Mafra, Convent

A juxtaposition of the two plans shows clearly these differences (Figs. 10 and 12). In addition, the church of the Escorial is of the Greek cross plan while that at Mafra is a Latin basilica. Furthermore, the "gridiron plan" of the Portuguese convent is more clearly expressed by the long continuous corridors than that of the Escorial, where a succession of small chambers is substituted. The style of the two monuments is so entirely different that there can have been no borrowing at Mafra from the Spanish building.

Ludovice's plan of setting the church in the middle of the principal façade and relegating the convent buildings to the rear of the complex is derived from German architecture of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[160] The monastery

160. This was a development of great importance in the history of architecture. The construction of monastic buildings in a regular plan about a church or chapel as the central accent dates from the sixteenth century. Throughout the mediaeval period the cloisters and monastic buildings had been laid out contingent to one flank of the church, an arrangement which had been one of the formulas of the Cistercian system of building. It lingered throughout the Baroque period in convents and monastic establishments where, in city regions already well built up, a minimum of space was available (see the plans of the Gesù and Casa Professa, the Collegio Romano, and the Vallicella – A. E. Brinckmann, *Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den romanischen Ländern*, Berlin, 1919, fig. 155 – in Rome, and the Jesuit establishment of La Cleriga, at Salamanca—Otto Schubert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien*, Esslingen, 1908, fig. 58).

In 1563 at the Escorial, however, a church was built within the monastic enclosure with a regular disposition of wings and courtyards on either side. This plan probably had its origins in the Spanish hospitals of the sixteenth century built on the Greek cross plan. The Hospital Real at Santiago de Compostela, erected by Enrique de Egas in 1501, has a chapel at the crossing of the four arms (Vicente Lamperez y Romea, *Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I al XVIII*, Madrid, 1922, vol. II, fig. 191). Bart Bustamente's Hospital de S. Juan Bautista, built in Toledo in 1541, has a church within the complex of buildings, preceded by two adjacent courts which are shut off by the outer wings of the hospital, and connected with the main entrance in the center of the principal façade by a vaulted passage in two stories (O. Schubert, *op. cit.*, fig. 45). The idea was further developed in the seventeenth century. In France there were two notable examples of this tendency in architecture. Libéral Bruand's plan for the Invalides of 1675 follows the Escorial plan of a church in the center of a regular complex of buildings (Sir Reginald Blomfield, *A History of French Architecture from the Death of Mazarin till the Death of Louis XV, 1661-1774*, London, 1921, vol. I, pl. 41). In 1656 Bruand had already designed the great Hôpital de la Salpétrière in Paris, where a church was arranged in the center of two parallel wings so as to *form a part of the façade of the forward wing and provide an effective central accent* (Jacques Guillaume Legrand, *Déscription de Paris et de ses édifices*, Paris, 1818, vol. II, pl. 14). Carlo Fontana's plan for the Jesuit College at Loyola (1682) shows a circular church projecting slightly from the center of the main façade of a great rectangular structure (O. Schubert, *op. cit.*, fig. 184).

This is the type to which Mafra belongs, and which was so frequently used in Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Weingarten, Maria-Einsiedeln etc.). Occasionally the monastic buildings were arranged on a vertical axis behind the church, thus subordinating the whole monastic establishment to the church itself. Examples of this variation of the type are: Melk (Hans Sedlmayr, *Österreichische Barockarchitektur 1690-1740*, Vienna, 1930, p. 69); Ottobeuren (Adolf Feulner, *Johann Michael Fischers Risse für die Klosterkirche in Ottobeuren*, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, VIII, 1913, pp. 46 ff.); and, in Italy, the Superga (Augusto Tellucini, *L'arte dell'architetto Filippo Juvara in Piemonte*, Turin, 1926, pls. 1, 2).

The type of the Escorial and the Bruand design for the Invalides (where the church is placed in the center of the complex, with a court before it shut off by the principal façade) was repeated in the eighteenth century. Examples are numerous: S. Kleiner's engraving of Stift Göttweig (H. Sedlmayr, *op. cit.*, fig. 52); Kloster Wiblingen (A. Feulner, *Kloster Wiblingen*, Augsburg, 1925, fig. 8); Prandtauer's plan for Garsten (Hugo Hantsch, *Jacob Prandtauer der Klosterarchitekt des österreichischen Barock*, Vienna, 1926, fig. 77); Rastrelli's model for the Smolni Lavra, near Leningrad (A. E. Brinckmann, *Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den romanischen Ländern*, fig. 156). These two ways of disposing the church as a central accent became the ideal of the Baroque builders. The best expression of this latter manner is the design for the École Militaire at Paris which Ange-Jacques Gabriel originally made, where the chapel was isolated in the exact center of a splendidly articulated system of wings and courtyards (Sir. R. Blomfield, *op cit.*, pl. 175). At the end of the eighteenth century J.-François Blondel recommended that all types of monastic buildings be disposed about a central church or chapel (*Cours d'architecture civile*, Paris, 1771, vol. II, pp. 331-332).

The old system of convent buildings laid out along one flank of the church, however, was never discarded. Throughout the period new cloisters and living apartments were thus added to existing mediaeval and Renaissance churches (Ebrach, Cluny, Citeaux). There are also examples of a new church and monastery

"auf dem heiligen Berge" near Olmutz, carried out between 1669 and 1679 by Baldassare Fontana, was designed with the church on the central axis of the principal façade.[161] A long manastic cloister forms a semicircle behind the church. In 1704 Caspar Mosbrugger began the rebuilding of the Benedictine monastery of Maria-Einsiedeln in Switzerland with a two-tower church similarly placed and a complex of monastic wings forming four separate courts behind,[162] very much in the manner of Mafra. The plans of the same Voralberger architect for Kloster Kalchrain (1702-1705)[163] have the church on the main axis of the principal façade and the monastic buildings, though simpler in scale, behind. In 1717 the monastery at Fürstenfeld was built with the same effective arrangement,[164] and the church façade of Stift Göttweig in Austria is located in the center of the principal wing of the monastery.[165]

This feature of the plan of Mafra may also be traced back to the Austrian churches built at this time in derivation from S. Agnese in Piazza Navona at Rome,[166] in which the actual church façade is flanked by symmetrical sections of palace architecture. Ludovice may have been influenced in his choice for Mafra by the extremely successful design of Fischer von Erlach's Dreifaltigkeitskirche in Salzburg,[167] a two-tower façade flanked by actual palace buildings forming a whole unit approaching the proportions of Mafra.[168]

The relegation of the monastic buildings to the rear wings of the complex is also derived from these German monasteries. But the particular disposition which Ludovice made at Mafra was probably his own invention. At the time when the Portuguese convent was erected only Mosbrugger at Einsiedeln had solved this problem similarly. But there the matter was less complicated, four simple courtyards sufficed. Ludovice had no precedent among the German monasteries for the complicated and ingenious system of interior courts which he introduced at Mafra. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado was probably right in omitting from his list of the monuments which influenced Ludovice at Mafra any mention of a derivation of this feature of the plan.[169]

The plan of Mafra consists essentially of two vast adjoining rectangles, the forward one being given over to the church and palace, while the one behind is devoted to the cells and service apartments of the friars (Fig. 12). Two square courts occupy the centers of the rectangles, the one in front being occupied by the huge church, and divided by passageways extending from the church to the lateral wings

built in the eighteenth century where the architect, unhampered by the exigencies of city space, chose the ancient plan: S. Florian (H. Sedlmayr, *op. cit.*, p. 70); Irsee (Richard Wiebel, *Kloster Irsee*, Augsburg, 1927, fig. 4); Herzogenburg (H. Hantsch, *op. cit.*, fig. 80); the 1736 engraving of Wadgassen (Walter Zimmermann, *Das Land an der Saar*, Berlin, 1931, pl. 67).

161. A. E. Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in des germanischen Ländern*, fig. 80.

162. Linus Birchler, *Einsiedeln und sein Architekt Bruder Caspar Mosbrugger*, Augsburg, 1924, fig. 86.

163. *Ibid.*, fig. 94.

164. A. E. Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in des germanischen Ländern*, fig. 110.

165. Bruno Grimschitz, *Johannes Lucas von Hildebrandts kunstlerische Entwicklung bis zum Jahre 1725*, Vienna, 1922, fig. 49.

166. Begun by Fr. Borromini and G. Rainaldi in 1652-1653 Giulio Magni. *Il barocco a Roma*, Turin, 1912, vol. I, pl. 63.

167. Built in 1694 (Hans Sedlmayr, *Johann Fischer von Erlach der Ältere*, Munich, 1925, fig. 7 and pp. 13-14).

168. Other churches of the type are: the Pfarrkirche am Hof in Vienna of 1668 (Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst.... in den germanischen Ländern*, fig. 11); and the Kajetanerkirche in Salzburg, built by Gaspare Zuccali in 1685 (*ibid.*, fig. 112).

169. *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

and giving access to the two subordinate courtyards at the sides. These are more properly entered from the monumental doorways on the main façade, from which rise the two identical stairs leading to the royal apartments. For the main floor, the *andar nobre,* of the principal façade is given over to two royal suites terminating in projecting pavilions and connecting by means of a gallery overlooking the nave of the church. The floor below is occupied by the passageways to the courtyards and by a series of empty and useless apartments arranged to continue the perspective from the porch of the church.

The conventual rectangle to the rear houses the cells of the friars grouped around the main court, a number of small rooms, and the refectory, library, lavatory, and kitchens of the convent. It is lighted by long intersecting vaulted corridors. A double staircase of monumental proportions gives access to the upper floors.

The plan of the convent of Mafra was not without influence in Portugal. Although nothing else was ever attempted upon so large a scale, at least two buildings borrowed the essential features of its plan. The Trinitarians' church and convent of N. S. dos Remedios in Lisbon, begun for the patriarch D. Thomas de Almeida, in 1721,[170] has the arrangement of the church set in the center of a long façade. The church at the Asilo dos Invalidos Militares in Runa, built by José da Costa e Silva in 1807,[171] is likewise the central accent of the main façade, while the living and service apartments of the veterans are grouped about two open courts in the rear.

The Exterior

The material used in the Convent of Mafra is characteristic of the region. The main body of the edifice is built of bricks covered with plaster, while the church, the entrances, the lateral pavilions, and the frames of the doors and windows are carried out in the local *pedra lioz.* This is a white calcareous stone, which, when quarried, has the translucent quality of Istrian marble. The churches of Lisbon, built of the stone and sheltered from the full force of the elements, often seem to have been built of the radiant marble of Venice. But at Mafra, where the wind-buffeted site is unprotected from the coastal storms, the stone has taken on a dark and grizzled appearance that dispels the illusion of marble. One writer was so impressed by the present state of the stone that he described the convent as "a colossus of granite,"[172] forgetting as it were that Mafra is built of *pedra lioz.*

170. L. G. Pereira, *op. cit.*, fig. 29.

171. This building has never been published. The Portuguese Invalides was a project of Infanta Maria Benedicta, a sister of Queen Maria I (1777-1816), and widow of her own nephew, D. José, Principe do Brazil. In 1790 land was procured for the enterprise, and the building was already under way by the year 1807. From her exile with the other members of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil the princess continued to finance her project, which was finally inaugurated in a great ceremony on July 25, 1827 (Roque Fereira Lobo, *Panegyrica em honra da serenissima princesa do Brasil a senhora dona Maria Francisca Benedicta pela sua fundação de um hospital para militares invalidos, na sua quinta do lugar de Runa, termo da vila de Torres Vedras,* Lisbon, 1826; Fernando Luiz Pereira de Miranda Palha, *Breve narração dcerca do real asylo de militares em Runa,* Lisbon, 1842; A. C. Sousa Escrivanis, *Descripção do real asylo de invalidos militares de Runa,* Lisbon, 1882). The architect, José da Costa e Silva (1747-1819), who studied in Italy, was, with Manoel Caetano de Sousa and Fabri, one of the inaugurators of the Portuguese Neo-Classic. He finished the *capella-mór* of the Italian church at Lisbon, N. S. do Loreto, and built the Erario Regio (1789), and the Theatre of S. Carlos, the opera house of Lisbon (1792). In 1812 he was summoned to the court at Rio de Janeiro, where he died in 1819 (see C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-238; Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario,* vol. I, pp. 244-246).

172. H. Brunswick, *Guida do viajante em Portugal,* Lisbon, 1882, pp. 93-94.

In this combination of plaster and local stone Ludovice was following a Portuguese tradition, yet his use of the materials is so well calculated as to seem rather the transplanting to Portugal of the architecture of Roman palaces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

At Mafra there are constant reminders of definite monuments of the Roman Baroque. Most striking, perhaps, are the two sections of the main façade between the church and the end pavilions. Their arrangement is best studied from a nineteenth century engraving (Fig. 11). It is as though Ludovice were reproducing at Mafra two times the palace of Montecitorio, that Roman building of Bernini and Carlo Fontana.[173] The materials of plaster and bricks with stone revetments are practically the same, the proportions of the façade are similar, and the porticoes below are almost identical. At present, however, Doric columns and a triangular frontispiece have been added, accenting the portico motif, and affording some measure of balance to the great load of the windows above (Fig. 14). These unusually large windows[174] are what chiefly distinguishes this section of the palace of Mafra from the Roman building. Furthermore Ludovice has pierced the entablature with small rectangular windows, as Luigi Vanvitelli was later to do at the Reggia of Caserta.[175] The entablature of the central portion is further broken by the elongated paired consoles between these window openings and atop the pilasters at the angles. As though they were triglyphs he gives them miniature guttae (Fig. 13). This arrangement, foretelling the work of Ferdinando Fuga in the Corsini Palace in Rome and in that of Caramanico in Naples,[176] appears again in Ludovice's own palace in Lisbon (Fig. 79). Above the cornice are the peculiar waterspouts used throughout the edifice (Fig. 16); introduced by the architect at Mafra, they were to become a characteristic of Portuguese eighteenth century architecture.

These intermediate sections of the principal façade reveal the style of the building behind in the interminable lateral and posterior wings. There is the same use of stringcourses and prominent consoles; the windows take similar forms (Fig. 17). At times, to avoid monotony two windows are combined to form a single composition, and even the star ornaments of Francesco Borromini appear in the frames (Fig. 15).

173. The palace was begun by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in 1650 for the Ludovisi family, and completed by Carlo Fontana in the 1690's (G. Magni, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pls. 47, 48).

174. These windows are curiously described in the mock epic poem of João Jorge de Carvalho, which portrays a battle of dogs and cats in the great *praça* before the convent of Mafra (*Gaticanea, ou cruelissima guerra entre os cães, e os gatos, decidida em huma sanguinolenta batalha, na grande praça da real villa de Mafra*, Lisbon, 1781, p. 48):

> *.... janellas tão grandes, e rasgadas,*
> *E feitas com tal arte, que por bellas*
> *Hum portico parece qualquer dellas.*

175. The summer palace of Charles III of Naples (cf. note 284). For illustrations see the engraved plates in Luigi Vanvitelli's own book, *Dichiarazione dei disegni del real palazzo di Caserta*, Naples, 1756, and Gino Chierici, *La Reggia di Caserta*, Rome, 1930. The motif had of course been introduced in the Renaissance, in the Farnesina of Peruzzi. Other eighteenth century examples are the Royal Palace de Oriente in Madrid (where there is an attic story above the entablature repeating the motif), designed by Juvara, and the Corsini Palace of Ferdinando Fuga in Rome.

176. Ferdinando Fuga (1699-1781), a Florentine architect employed by his compatriot, Pope Clement XII, at Rome. For Benedict XIV he built the new façade of S. Maria Maggiore (1743-1750). In 1751 he passed into the service of Charles III of Naples, for whom he at once undertook the erection of the immense Albergo dei Poveri. In 1780 he redecorated the interior of the cathedral of Palermo and constructed the new dome of the building. Like Luigi Vanvitelli, Fuga was a classicist whose architecture foretold the austerity of the coming Neo-Classic style. The Corsini Palace in Trastevere was built in the 1730's, while that of Aquino di Caramanico (now della Fondiaria) at Naples dates from 1780.

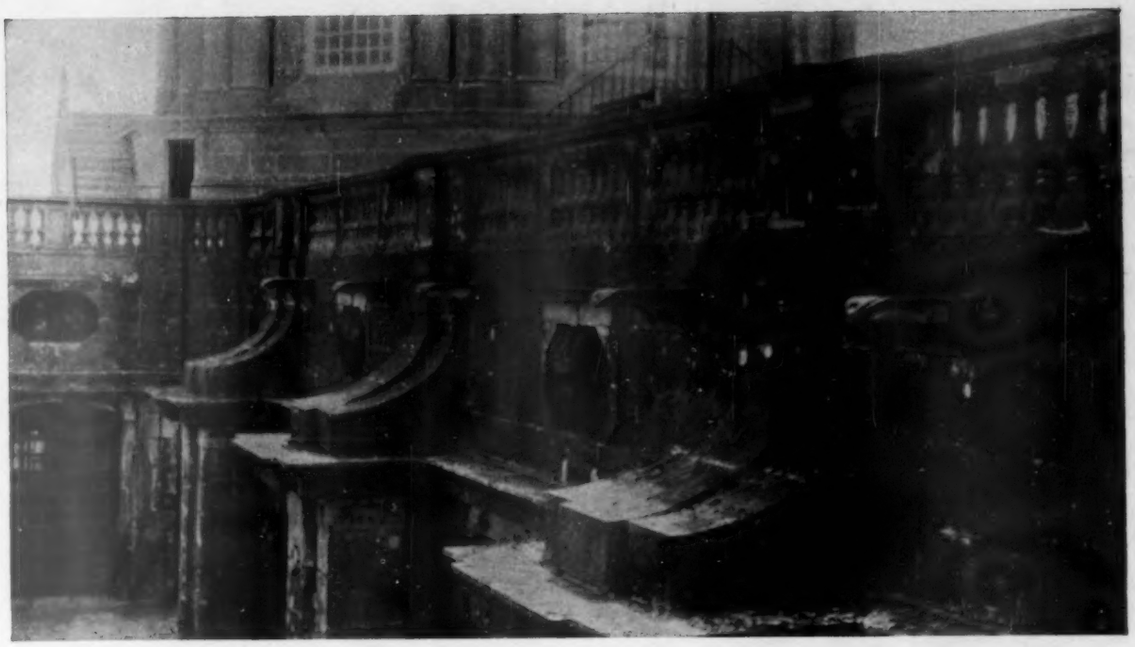

FIG. 16—*Mafra, Convent: Waterspouts*

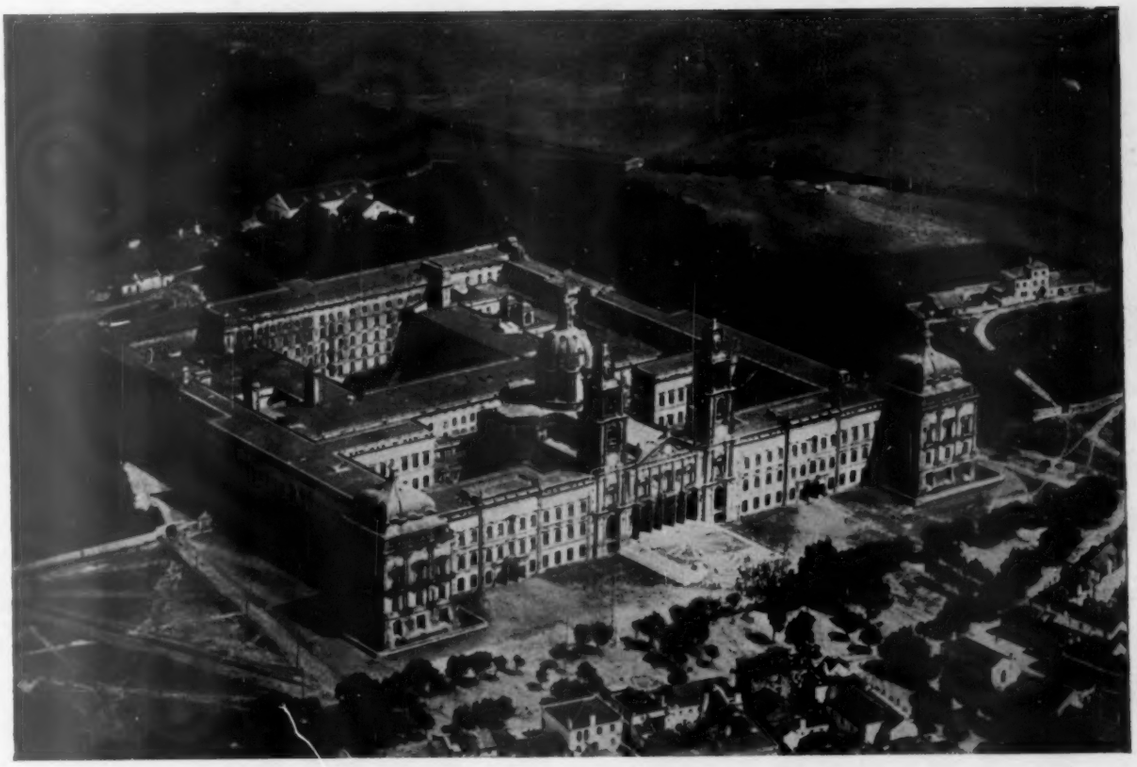

FIG. 17—*Airplane View of Mafra*

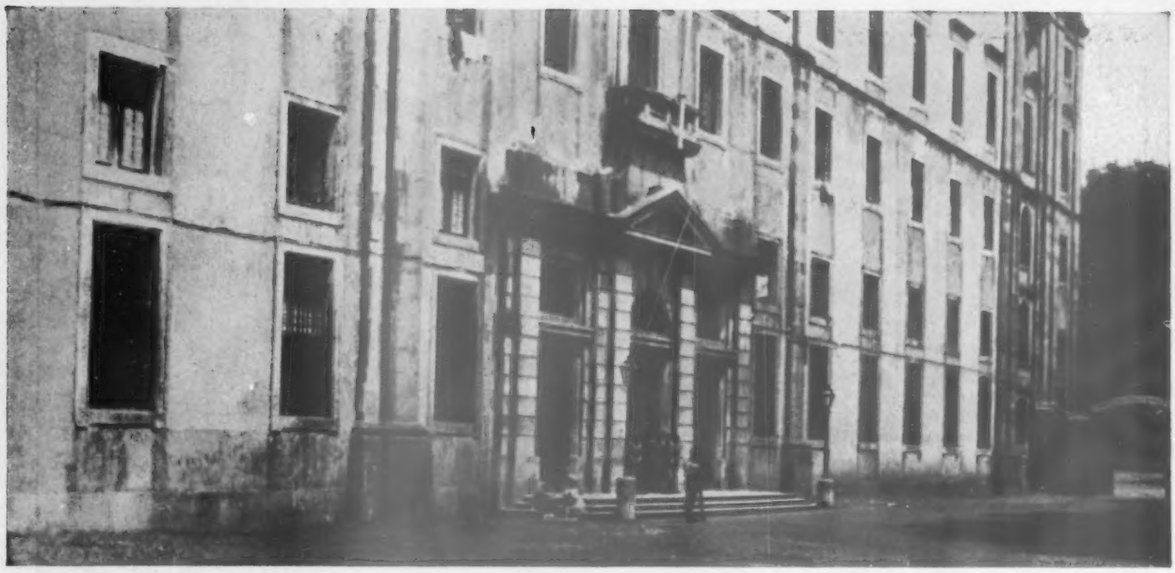

FIG. 18 —*Entrance to South Façade*

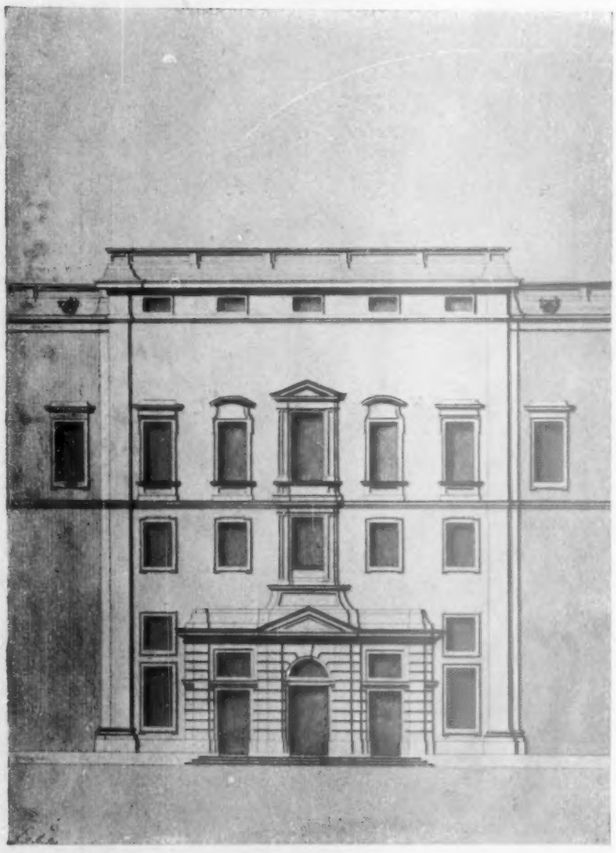

FIG. 19—*Side Elevation* (*Drawing in Academia das Belas Artes, Lisbon*)

FIG. 20—*Detail of a Tower*

Mafra, Convent

We shall see that Mafra shows in several instances the influence of that master of the Roman Baroque.

The south façade of the building has an entrance portico very similar to those which lead into the palace (Fig. 18). This is the only part of the convent for which a corresponding drawing can be identified (Fig. 19).[177] Here the stone is rusticated throughout and the tympana above the three doors are left entirely open. This use of a secondary lintel, for that is what the motif really is, was taken up again by the architect in the door at S. Domingos (Fig. 71) and in that of his own palace (Fig. 80).

Returning to the main façade, we find further instances of Roman influence. The gigantic *perron,* a combination of rectangles and crescents, which the eighteenth century traveler, Joseph Baretti, praised so highly,[178] is clearly derived from that of St. Peter's (Figs. 12, 17, and 20).

The façade of the church itself has connections with a number of Roman monuments. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado tells us that Ludovice copied the towers from those of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona.[179] It is true that the second tier of the belfry (Fig. 21), with its oval shape and coupled columns, repeats the design of Rainaldi's towers.[180] But the loggia motif of the first story, replete with its raised passage, is stolen from the façade of St. Peter's (Figs. 20 and 22). William Beckford was the first to notice a resemblance between the towers of Mafra and those of St. Paul's in London.[181] There the belfries have an oval arrangement with engaged columns very similar to those of S. Agnese and of Mafra, and the lower stories have arches, pilasters, and windows disposed as at Mafra. But the fact that the arches are walled in at St. Paul's, and that there is no raised passage in the London façade, suggests that Ludovice was divagating around St. Peter's rather than imitating Sir Christopher Wren. The resemblance seems a mere coincidence.

The steeples at Mafra differ from those of St. Paul's and of S. Agnese in the rejection of the popular conical form for a bulbous design more like that which Carlo Fontana had introduced in the campanile of the Roman church of S. Maria dei Miracoli.[182] The oval window of the lower section is probably an invention of Ludovice, for he uses it again in combination with a door in the south lateral façade (Fig. 23). How well he designed the towers in relation to the façade of the church is proved by the lower story of the belfries (Fig. 24). Below he had reproduced in the towers the arches of the porch and the windows of the great apartment overlooking the nave. Now he repeats the arches and also the exact arrangement of the engaged order that appears in the main façade (Fig. 25). Ludovice thus

177. The drawing is contained in a portfolio belonging to the Museu de Arte Antiga deposited at the Academia das Belas Artes in Lisbon.

178. "But what struck me most on that side of the edifice, is the ascent to the church. That ascent takes up the best part of the space between the edifice and the village, and the wide semicircular steps of it make it appear so very grand, that I question whether we have in Italy anything of the kind that can be compared with it (*op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 233-234).

179. *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

180. The church, although principally the work of Francesco Borromini, was taken over and completed by Carlo Rainaldi.

181. *Italy, Spain, and Portugal, with an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha*, edition of New York, 1842, vol. II, p. 58.

182. The tower was added in 1671 to the church of Carlo Rainardi (G. Magni, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 34).

harmonized in an amazing way the many borrowed features of his design, relating them all to the façade of the church itself.

Why did Ludovice include the two towers at Mafra? Was this another German influence, a reflection of the two-tower seventeenth century churches[183] of his own country? There is even an engraving of a palace with two immense towers very like those of Mafra in the *Fürstlicher Baumeister,* by Paulus Decker, a book of architectural designs published in Augsburg between 1711 and 1716.[184] It is possible that Ludovice knew the book and used these designs of a man who had been the pupil of Andreas Schlüter. There is also the possibility that he was paying tribute to that traditional taste for two-tower church façades which had prevailed in Portugal since Filippo Terzi had designed the great exterior of S. Vicente de Fora in 1582. Whatever may have been the cause, the example of Mafra called up a host of two-tower façades throughout the eighteenth century,[185] the most splendid of which was the Basilica do Sagrado Coração de Jesus,[186] known as the Basilica da Estrêla, begun on one of the hills of Lisbon by the architect Matheus Vicente in 1779 (Fig. 1).[187] The façade incorporates many of the characteristics of Mafra.

The church façade at Mafra rises through two stories to terminate in a great triangular pediment richly decorated with floral reliefs. The engaged columns of the upper story are set in niches which are extremely widely and sharply cut, exactly like those in the lower belfries of the towers. The slender columns are thus strikingly silhouetted against the grey walls of the façade. Three windows of urbane design light the interior, and between them are crowded niches containing the statues of Sts. Dominic and Francis. The columns of the lower order are set well forward of the façade, and their entablature breaks out in a decided *ressaut.* Such an occurence is not to be found in seventeenth century Roman architecture. The nearest approach to it is probably the treatment of the portico of the garden façade of the Palazzo Barbarini.[188] But there pilasters are introduced to break the sharp effect. Ludovice's use here of an order in such marked *ressaut* suggests the façade

183. In particular the façade of the Theatinerkirche at Munich, built by Gaspare Zuccali between 1663 and 1675 (Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland,* Stuttgart, 1889, fig. 40). For a discussion of this type of two-tower church façade in Germany during the late seventeenth century see A. E. Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den germanischen Ländern,* p. 146.

184. Paulus Decker (1677-1713). The architect was born in Nuremberg, and studied with Schlüter in Berlin from 1699 to 1705, becoming a devoted apostle of that master's grandiose style. He later worked at Sulzbach, Bayreuth, and Erlangen. In 1711 and 1716 he published in three parts his collection of architectural designs, *Fürstlicher Baumeister oder Architectura civilis.* His *Architectura Theoretica-pratica* was printed after his death in Leipzig in 1720 and 1722. The books enjoyed a great popularity with German architects, especially in Franconia (see the article by T. Hampe in Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.,* vol. VIII, pp. 524-525).

185. In particular the chuch of N. S. de Ares at Viana do Alentejo, the Bom Jesus, at Braga, the church at Milagres, N. S. dos Remedios at Lamego, and the church of the Lapa in Oporto. Indeed, so popular was this type of façade that there is scarcely a village in Portugal which did not undertake at this period the erection of a church with two towers.

186. The church has a further connection with Mafra in that it was erected by D. Maria I in gratitude for the birth of an heir to the throne.

187. Matheus Vicente de Oliveira, who enjoyed the titles of Architecto da Casa do Infantado and do Senado da Camara, was probably Ludovice's principal pupil (C. V. Machado, *op. cit.,* p. 198). His principal works were a part of the palace at Queluz, begun in 1758, the church of S. Antonio da Cidade in Lisbon, rebuilt after the earthquake, and the Basilica da Estrêla, begun in 1779. He died around 1786. See also Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario,* vol, II, pp. 222-226; vol. III, p. 399.

188. The garden façade was designed by Carlo Maderno just before his death in 1629. See Nina Caflisch, *Carlo Maderno: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des römischen Barockarchitektur,* Munich, 1933, figs. 61, 62.

FIG. 21—*A Tower*

FIG. 22—*Detail of a Tower*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 23—*A Door of South Façade*

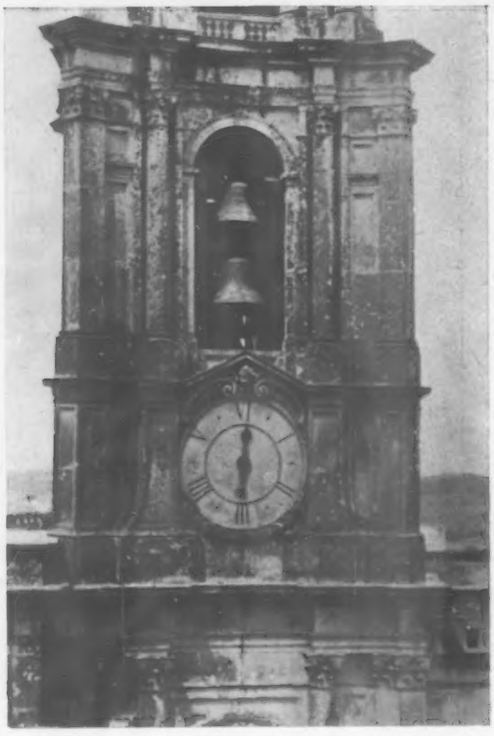

FIG. 24—*Detail of a Tower*

FIG. 25—*Detail of Main Façade*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 26—*Detail of Main Façade*

FIG. 27—*Main Façade*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 28—*Mafra, Convent: Fosse*

FIG. 29—*Salzburg: Horse Pond*

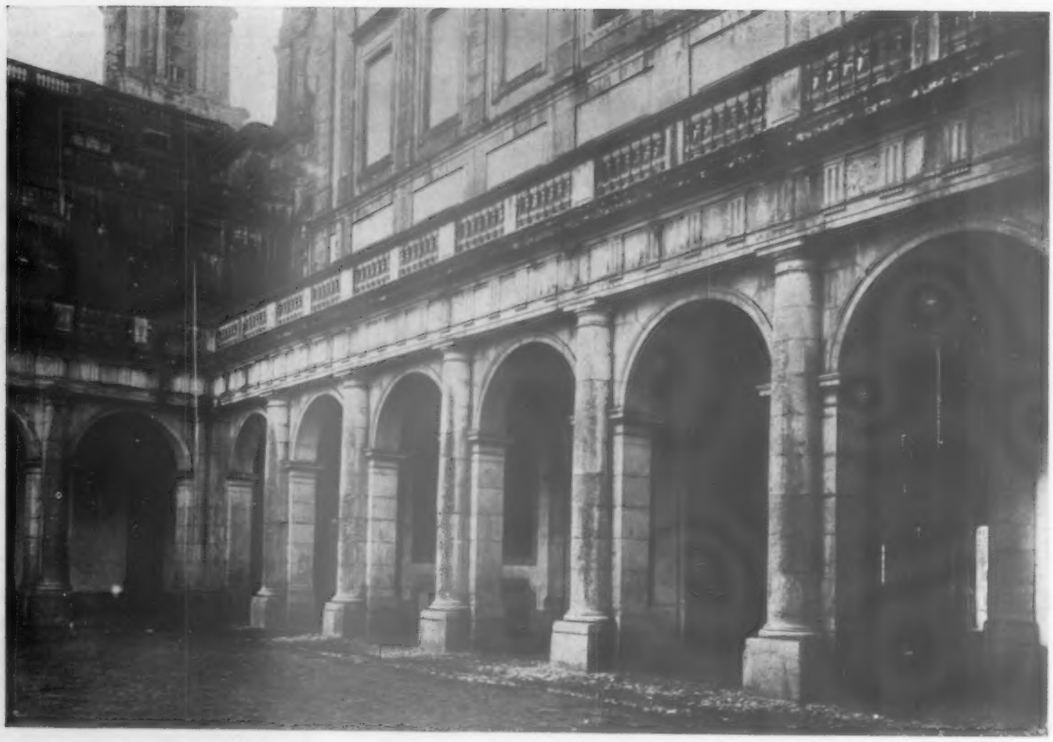

FIG. 30—*Mafra, Convent: An Interior Court*

of the Kurfürstlicher Palast in Berlin,[189] and Schlüter's work may not have been unknown to the German Ludovice. The arrangement of the doors seems once again to reflect St. Peter's. There is an alternation of three arches with three lintels, but where Maderno had used horizontal members Ludovice substituted arches (Fig. 26).

This constant imitation of St. Peter's may have been what won Ludovice the commission for Mafra. D. João V throughout his reign gave constant evidence of his veneration for the papacy, his respect for its customs, his admiration for its monuments, and Ludovice may have flattered the king's tastes by proposing to erect at Mafra a basilica on the lines of that of St. Peter's in Rome.

At the ends of the principal façade are placed those two pavilions of the king and queen, Beckford's "pagodas,"[190] called *torreões* (Fig. 27). Their massive proportions, slanting basements with deep-set windows, and the ditches around them give them the aspect of fortifications (Fig. 28). They are the only part of the building with an attic story above the cornice, but that member is here coerced into forming a base for the huge bulbous domes which crown the pavilions. Such a design at the ends of the principal façade lends to Mafra a distinct Germanic flavor[191] which proves a salutary distraction from the many Roman borrowings. The *torreões* are an essential part of the design of the Portuguese convent. Their heavy construction in stone complements that of the church in the center, and their bold outline and stalwart proportions provide vigorous accents at the extremities of the façade.

The interior sections of the convent are wings of monotonous pattern in which architectural design has been reduced to a minimum (Fig. 31). Only the three tribunes of the church and the two entrance courts have a distinct personality. Ludovice has given the exterior of the basilica a casing of pilasters, with attic and balustrades (Fig. 21), after the fashion of St. Peter's and S. Maria Maggiore in Rome.[192] But at Mafra the order is in two stories, breaking out *en ressaut* above a subsidiary terrace, and the attic is given a curious flaring appearance. It is a design of contrasts of light and shade, solids and voids, which succeeds in transmitting to the flanks of the church something of the richness of the main façade. In those sections of the convent are found the strange "balustrades" of pierced design, in which the balusters are replaced by pierced passages of filigree work (Fig. 21). Ludovice's training as a goldsmith may have prejudiced him in favor of this motif so popular at the time in German architecture.[193] Yet he avoided at Mafra any imitation of such extreme examples

189. Built by Andreas Schlüter between 1689 and 1706 (Wilhelm Pinder, *Deutscher Barock. Die grossen Baumeister des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1929, figs. 29, 31).

190. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 56.

191. End pavilions appear in several of the German monasteries built at this time. They occur at Maria-Einsiedeln and Kloster Weingarten in particular (J. Lucas von Hildebrandt had designed end towers for Göttweig). But these pavilions lack the elaborate domes and architectural decorations of those at Mafra. Even the pavilions erected by d'Allio for Emperor Charles VI at Klosterneuburg in the 1730's are not so ornate (H. Sedlmayr, *Österreichische Barockarchitektur*, figs. 64, 65). Those of Mafra are more closely related to the designs for end pavilions of a palace engraved in the *Fürstlicher Baumeister* (part III, pl. 2), from which they may have derived.

192. In particular the exterior of the apse, built by Carlo Rainaldi in 1673 (G. Magni, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pl. 86).

193. See in particular the parapets of the Lower Belvedere in Vienna (B. Grimschitz, *op. cit.*, fig. 26), the façades of the Clam Gallas Palace in Prague, and the Bohemian Chancellery at Vienna (H. Sedlmayr *Johann Fischer van Erlach der Ältere*, figs. 35, 43). Also the towers of the abbey of Melk (H. Sedlmayr, *Österreichische Barockarchitektur*, fig. 92). The same motifs were used in the architecture of Catania in Sicily, both at the "Siculorum Gymnasium," the Collegio Cutelli, and at the house of the architect G. B. Vaccarini (Francesco Fichera, *Una città settecentesca*, Rome, 1925, figs. 32, 33, 42).

as the horse fountain at Salzburg (Fig. 29)[194] and the engraved designs in Johann Rudolph Fäsch's book of architecture.[195] The motif was to have a considerable vogue in Portugal during the eighteenth century.[196]

The treatment of the two entrance courts behind the principal façade is one of the most successful elements in the design of Mafra. Joseph Baretti wrote: "There are.... two court-yards there, that are surrounded by the finest porticos I ever saw; finer than the Procuratie Nuove at Venice."[197]

Ludovice has used an arcade with an engaged Tuscan order, the fine proportions of which are equalled by the elegant cutting of bases, triglyphs, and balusters (Fig. 30). The papal architect, Carlo Fontana, had been experimenting with similar forms for the new façade of S. Maria in Trastevere,[198] which he completed in 1702. Ludovice may have taken the idea from him.

The dome of Mafra is set upon an octagonal drum unusually high in proportion to the cupola itself (Fig. 32). The impression of elongation is heightened by the long, slender engaged columns, carrying exceptionally high entablature blocks and framing the eight windows. The whole motif is carried out on a concave plan, *superficies curvas,* which Volkmar Machado explains as an imitation of Borromini.[199] In fact, Ludovice must also have been thinking of that Roman master when he designed the perspective window frames with their rosettes set in graduated panels (Fig. 33). It is a reflection of the Borrominesque motif of Palazzo Barbarini,[200] S. Carlino,[201] and the Vallicella.[202] Reminiscent of the same architect are the slender garlands and wreaths in the reliefs above the arches.

De festões adornado, e bellas flores
Formadas em diversas lindas cores,
De pedras muito finas, e polidas,
Na região do vento suspendidas.[203]

The scalloped pediments, the seraphs' heads, the volutes, and the elaborately concave lantern are all further indications of Francesco Borromini's influence. And yet the dome as a whole gives the impression of a startlingly original design. Throughout

194. The fountain is in the Sigmundsplatz. The group of horse-tamers is by M. B. Mandl (1695). The frescoes were added in 1732. The balustrades are probably of the eighteenth century.

195. *Grundmässige Anweisung zu Verziehung der klein und grossen Kapp-Fenstern, Mezeninen und Kuchfenster, Schorsteine Balustraden* etc., Nuremberg, no date, pls. 76-80.

196. The most astounding examples are at the church of N. S. Jesus at Milagres in the Estremadura, built by José da Silva of Juncal between 1732 and 1769 (José Ferreira de Lacerda, *Breves apontamentos para a historia da fundação da egreja do Senhor dos Milagres no conselho de Leiria,* Leiria, 1913). There the architect seems to have revived fantastic Manoeline motifs that can be traced back to the nearby monastery of A. Batalha.

197. *Op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 235.

198. See especially the drawings reproduced by E. Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.,* figs. 39-42.

199. From the façades of S. Andrea delle Fratte (G. Magni, *op. cit.,* vol. I, pl. 59), S. Carlino (*ibid.,* pl. 60), and S. Maria in Vallicella (Bernhard Hempel, *Francesco Borromini,* Vienna, 1924, fig. 39).

200. They occur in the third tier of windows of the court façade of the palace, which Borromini or Bernini executed in 1628-1632 (G. Magni, *op. cit.,* vol. II, pl. 42, and B. Hempel, *op. cit.,* p. 28, for a summary of the argument).

201. In the niches above the cornice in the interior of the church and the sacristy, built by Borromini (1633-1641) (B. Hempel, *op. cit.,* figs. 12, 18, 19, 21).

202. In the large niche of the main façade built by Borromini (1637-1650).

203. "Adorned with garlands and with flowers
formed in different hues and colors
of finest cut and polished stones,
hung in the region of the wind."
(J. J. de Carvalho, *op. cit.,* p. 50).

FIG. 31—*Interior Garden*

FIG. 32—*Cupola*

FIG. 33—*Detail of Cupola*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 34—*Atrium*

FIG. 35—*Detail of Atrium*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 36—*Lisbon, Basilica da Estrêla: Atrium*

FIG. 37—*Mafra, Convent: Royal Tribune*

FIG. 38—*Mafra, Convent: Interior*

FIG. 39—*Mafra, Convent: Detail of Capilal*

FIG. 40—*Interior*

FIG. 41—*Interior*

Mafra, Convent

the edifice of Mafra, Ludovice exercised the happy faculty of subordinating the many features he had borrowed from the great seventeenth century Roman masters to the few original ideas he expressed.

The Interior

The basilica of Mafra is entered through the *atrio,* a porch extending the length of the church façade. In plan it is similar to that of St. Peter's. There are the same monumental doorways and lateral vestibules, and the same ornamental spaces at the extremities arranged to afford a spacious perspective (Fig. 34). Ludovice has here reduced the number of doors from five to three, substituting niches in place of the suppressed doors. He has likewise omitted at Mafra the columns which Maderno had placed at the entrance to the vestibules, and has provided these rooms with arched openings.

The *atrio* of Mafra is vaulted in rose, black, and white marbles. The carving of the capitals, columns, entablatures, and lintels of the entrance doors is carried out with unusual refinement (Figs. 34 and 35). The clarity of the profiles, the elegance of the decoration, the incised character of the whole work are the design of a goldsmith, of a man accustomed to work with the greatest precision in the molding of fine metals. In praise of Ludovice's handling of stone Volkmar Machado wrote the interesting passage, "Good rendering of stone detail dates from his time, for the capitals and other details of the door of the church of S. Vicente, those of the Collegio de Santo Antão, those of the Menino Deos, of Nossa Senhora da Luz, and of all other buildings earlier than Mafra reveal that the stone was badly cut and the workmanship inelegant."[204]

The porch of Mafra had a very definite influence upon that of the Basilica da Estrêla in Lisbon. There the plan is almost precisely the same, but the decorations are coarse in comparison with those of Mafra (Fig. 36).

Above the *atrio* Ludovice erected a gallery overlooking the nave of the church, which was to serve as a tribune for the royal family.[205] The apartment corresponds exactly to the Hall of Benediction in St. Peter's. Here the room is almost entirely revetted in the rose marble of Cintra, and again there is a splendid barrel vault of paneled varicolored marbles (Fig. 37).

Volkmar Machado wrote that the interior of the church (Fig. 40) was inspired by that of S. Ignazio in Rome.[206] I see no particular connections beyond the use of coupled pilasters in the nave, the communicating chapels at the sides, and the balconies of the sanctuary, elements which are to be found in many of the Roman churches.[207] The balconies opening out of the piers of the crossing at Mafra (Fig. 41)

204. *Op. cit.*, p. 179. The author here refers to S. Vicente de Fora's Baroque additions; the Jesuit College of S. Antão, whither Ludovice came from Rome, a work principally of the seventeenth century, destroyed in the earthquake of 1755; the Menino de Deus; and N. S. da Luz, at Carnide, which was rebuilt on the Greek cross plan in 1575 by Jeronimo de Ruão for Infanta Maria.

205. The room is now used as part of the museum of the convent of Mafra, for the display of models and fragments of the sculptures of the church. The state apartments of the king and queen on either side of it have been entirely redecorated under subsequent sovereigns.

206. *Ibid.*, p. 164. The church of S. Ignazio di Loyola was built from 1626 to 1685 by Padre Orazio Grassi (G. Magni, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 30).

207. This is of course the regular formula of the Roman seventeenth century church interior (Gesù, SS. Apostoli, S. Maria in Vallicella etc.). The

recall the same arrangement at St. Peter's, yet they resemble more the niches on the rear of Maderno's façade[208] than the solemn *loges* of the interior. It might be argued that the treatment of the *portale interiore* is reminiscent of Roman churches (Fig. 38). The stucco figures perched above the lintel are like those at SS. Apostoli[209] and those on the *cartella* of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi in S. Ignazio.[210] The great window above again suggests Borromini, and the balconies supported on columns in the transepts may have been copied from those in the church of S. Carlo al Corso.[211] But the borrowed elements at Mafra are less apparent in the interior than on the exterior.

Ludovice's design is essentially soberer than those of the Roman churches. Sculpture is largely relegated to the altarpieces.[212] The only decoration of the nave arcade is the series of panels with seraphs' heads above the arches. Ludovice also used a pattern of simple rosettes to accent the outlines of the arches at the crossing (Fig. 41). Here there are no painted vaults to distract the eye from the monumental dignity of the order. Ludovice relied upon well-cut architectural detail and rich marbles to produce at Mafra the effect of opulence. William Beckford,[213] one of the greatest of eighteenth century connoisseurs, particularly admired the precision of the Corinthian capitals and the overdoor decorations (Figs. 39, 42 and 43).

But the marbles are the glory of the interior of Mafra. Frey João de S. Joseph do Prado has written a fine Baroque description of the different types:—"One is clothed in black and garnished with still darker stains which encircle it in many spots; and of the same sort there is another with almost white dots between which run white lines.... The second is lighter and is so loosely formed that it appears like salt.... shiningly decorated with dark bands large and small.... The third kind has broad mixtures of white woven over a blue base in imitation of a labyrinth, whose unique and majestic quality assures it a place upon the altars. But amongst all these types the yellow marble vaunts the beauty of its color, displaying its splendor in brilliant festoons and other ornaments which crown the doors of black marble of the church, boasting the glory of their luster.[214]

These doorways of black marble with yellow *appliqués* (Fig. 47) are those which communicate between the chapels of the nave. The design was repeated in the *capella-mór* of the cathedral of Evora (Fig. 64). It affords a striking contrast with the rose marble walls and the statues of Carrara marble. Very similar is the combination of colors within the cupola (Fig. 44), where Ludovice used once again the pattern of the rosette panel in diminishing perspective.

balconies within the sanctuary of SS. Martino e Luca (1635-1650) are closest to those of Mafra (A. E. Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den romanischen Ländern*, fig. 72). The interior of St. Peter's itself is the most grandiose statement of the formula and it was probably from there that the interior of Mafra derived.

208. The vertical row of small niches at the angle of the side flank, above the arched carriage passages (G. Magni, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 133).

209. Added by Carlo Fontana in his rehandling of the church in 1702 (*ibid.*, pl. 72).

210. Added by Alessandro Algardi in 1650 (Antonio Muñoz, *Alessandro Algardi Principe dell' Accademia di San Luca, Estratto dall' Annuario della R. Accademia di S. Luca MCMXII*, Rome, 1913, fig. 14).

211. Begun by Onorio Longhi in 1612 and finished by his son, Martino, in 1672 (G. Magni, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 81).

212. The ten great altars of the interior have marble reliefs, and there are statues and small reliefs on the walls of the side chapels. The sculptors were almost all Italians: Pietro Bracci, Alessandro Giusti, Bernardo Ludovisi, Jacopo and Giovanni Barratta, Antonio Montanti, Agostino Corsini, G. B. Maini, Carlo Monaldi and others. No history of eighteenth century Roman sculpture can ever be written without a study of these multifarious works throughout the convent at Mafra.

213. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 58.

214. *Op. cit.*, vol. pp. 15-16.

FIG. 42—*Detail of Decoration*

FIG. 43—*Detail of Decoration*

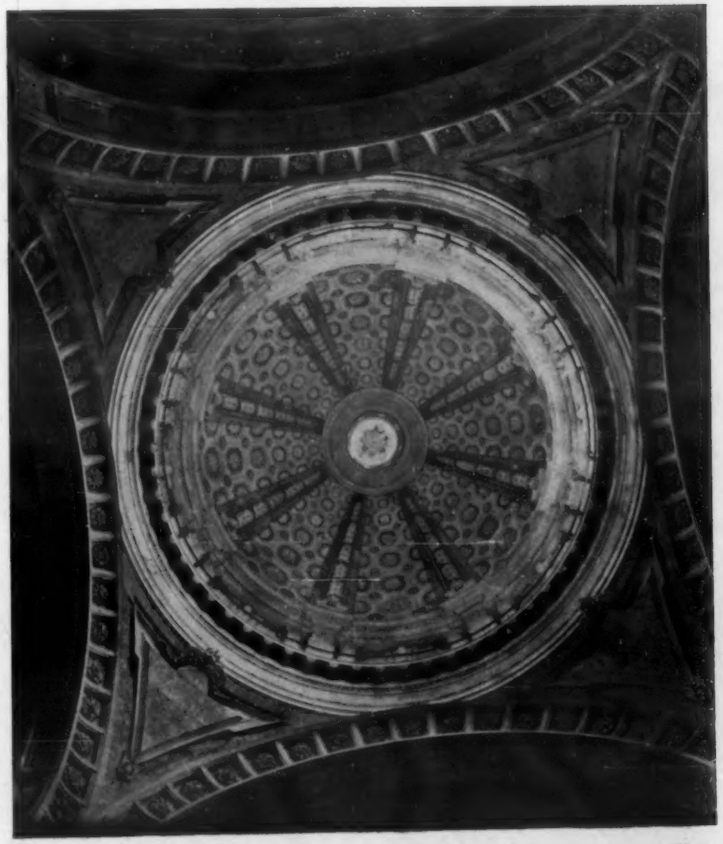

FIG. 44—*Interior of Cupola*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 45—*Mafra, Convent: Transept*

FIG. 46—*Lisbon, Basilica da Estrèla: Interior*

The brilliant handling of these marbles to produce a harmony of color and pattern, and the splendid cutting of the architectural decorations are Ludovice's great accomplishment in the interior of Mafra. The design of the church itself has certain unpleasant features. The nave is obviously too narrow for its height. The row of upper *coretti,* mere slits in the entablature, like the attic windows of the façade, provide an unwanted emphasis. There are too many balconies on various levels. The transepts are fairly cluttered with them (Fig. 45). They make it too apparent that the walls of the church are honeycombed with passages, stairs, and small apartments on various stories. The Corinthian order of the *capella-mór* seems exaggeratedly high because the columns are placed too close to one another, and the pediment is proportionately too small. Many of these defects have disappeared in the interior of the Basilica da Estrêla (Fig. 46), but neither the quality of the marbles nor the cutting of the stone can equal what had been done at Mafra.

Ludovice designed the sacristy of Mafra in very much the same style as the interior of the church. It is a rectangular barrel-vaulted room connecting with the sanctuary of the basilica by a vaulted passage. The proportions are those of the church, for the room is extremely narrow in proportion to its height (Figs. 48 and 12a). Again a pilaster order is used to divide the walls into a series of compartments designed with rigid simplicity. The disposition of the altar beneath an arched recess flanked by lintels repeats the arrangement of the main façade. There is the same use of rich colored marbles that distinguishes the church. The pilasters and enframements are in yellow, the panels and frieze are of rose marble. But here the vault is covered with plaster; Ludovice did not repeat the marble barrel vaults of the church and *atrio.*

The small chapel containing the altar is probably the architect's nearest approach to Rococo decoration (Fig. 49). The black marble frame of the altarpiece is enlivened by spirals, volutes, and fantastic tendrils of lighter marbles picked out in gold. Above the windows are diminutive flower vases containing single blooms of that dahlialike species so popular with Portuguese decorators since Manoeline times.[215] The gayly painted design is infused with the spirit of the eighteenth century Italian *stuccatori.*

Very similar floral decorations appear in the splendid lavabo of colored marbles in the sacristy (Fig. 50). Ludovice has here again indulged in sprightly fantasy. The ragged petals of a bursting flower are repeated in the scalloped outline of the frame. A curious combination of what seem to be parsnips and palm branches is another element of the decoration. The basin is a conch, and snail shells carved of black marble are set at the angles of the fountain. The whole lavabo was cut with that elegant precision which characterizes all of Ludovice's ornamental designs. The imitation at the Estrêla is again a less skillfull performance.

For the decoration of the subsidiary rooms within the convent of Mafra Ludovice devised a different style, in keeping at once with the simplicity expected in monastic quarters and the privileged character of these royally supported friars. The walls and vaults are generally covered with white plaster, while marbles are used for picture

215. These exotic flowers are a commonplace in the decoration of the doorframes of Manoeline churches in the region of Mafra (Sapataria, Povoa de S. Adrião, Varotojo, Torres Vedras).

and window frames, floors, and an occasional pilaster order. The interiors are really carried out in that national style of Portuguese architecture, where brick walls are covered with white plaster and provided with revetments of colored stone, a style which Ludovice had already used on the exterior of Mafra.

Two of the interior chapels will illustrate this type of decoration. The Capella do Campo Santo (Fig. 12b), a funerary chapel for the Arrabidan friars, occupies in the north wing a position corresponding to that of the sacristy in the south. The walls are rigidly divided into rectangular compartments covered with white plaster and framed by pilaster strips of a sober grey marble (Fig. 51). The ribs of the barrel vault are likewise carried out in stone. The only element of color in the interior is the rose marble of the frieze.

There is the possibility that Ludovice derived the idea for this decoration not alone from the national Portuguese architecture. A precedent for such treatment is to be found in the churches of Palladio and his school. The tradition of the interior of the Redentore had never died in Venice, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there appeared a long series of imitations of that design of white plaster with sober stone revetments.[216] Roman architects like Ferdinando Fuga and Luigi Vanvitelli were converts to the style and established a veritable Neo-Palladian school. Vanvitelli repeated the formula over and over in his Marchigian buildings.[217] It may be that Ludovice, passing through Venice on his way from Augsburg to Rome, studied the Palladian interiors and reflected them later at Mafra. But it must be remembered that the style of these rooms is only a vague reminder of the Venetian interiors, for Ludovice's architectural vocabulary was not that of the full-fledged eighteenth century Palladian builder.

More interesting than the Capella do Campo Santo is that called the Capella dos Sete Altares (Fig. 12c). It is a beautifully proportioned room, surmounted in the center by a shallow cupola. The chapel has unfortunately been made over into a recreational room for the soldiers in garrison at Mafra, and the altars have necessarily been removed to make way for appurtenances of a modern bar.

This interior shows the same division into panels, the same marble enframements, and the identical rose marble in the entablature. There is a monumental loggia in two stories with a gallery to accomodate spectators at the former ceremonies (Fig. 52). The treatment of the motif reveals how Italianate Ludovice had become during and since his short sojourn in Rome.

The chapter house of Mafra, a huge room of elliptical form, adjoins the king's apartments (Fig. 12d).[218] Here the rectangular divisions of the wall are interspersed with oval compartments, and all are opened up in deep-set windows (Fig. 53). The tier of lunettes above the cornice is used to produce that effect of which Ludovice

216. A good example of this style is the church of S. Pantaleone in Venice, built by Francesco Comini in 1684.

217. For a list of these monuments see note 284. See also Luigi Sierra, *Le fabbriche di Vanvitelli in Ancona, Dedalo*, X (1929), p. 98.

218. One of the very few exceptions to the standard rectangular plan in Portuguese architecture of this period. Others are the octagonal plans of the churches of the Menino de Deus, of S. João Baptista at Campo Maior (perhaps derived from the former), and of the Senhor Jesus das Barrocas in Aveiro. In 1737 D. Marianna de Austria commissioned the oval church of S. João Nepomuceno in Lisbon (now destroyed, but sketched by L. G. Pereira, *op. cit.*, fig. 25).

FIG. 47—*Side Chapels*

FIG. 48—*Sacristy*

FIG. 49—*Chapel of Sacristy*

FIG. 50—*Lavabo of Sacristy*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 51—*Capella do Campo Santo*

FIG. 52—*Capella dos Sete Altares*

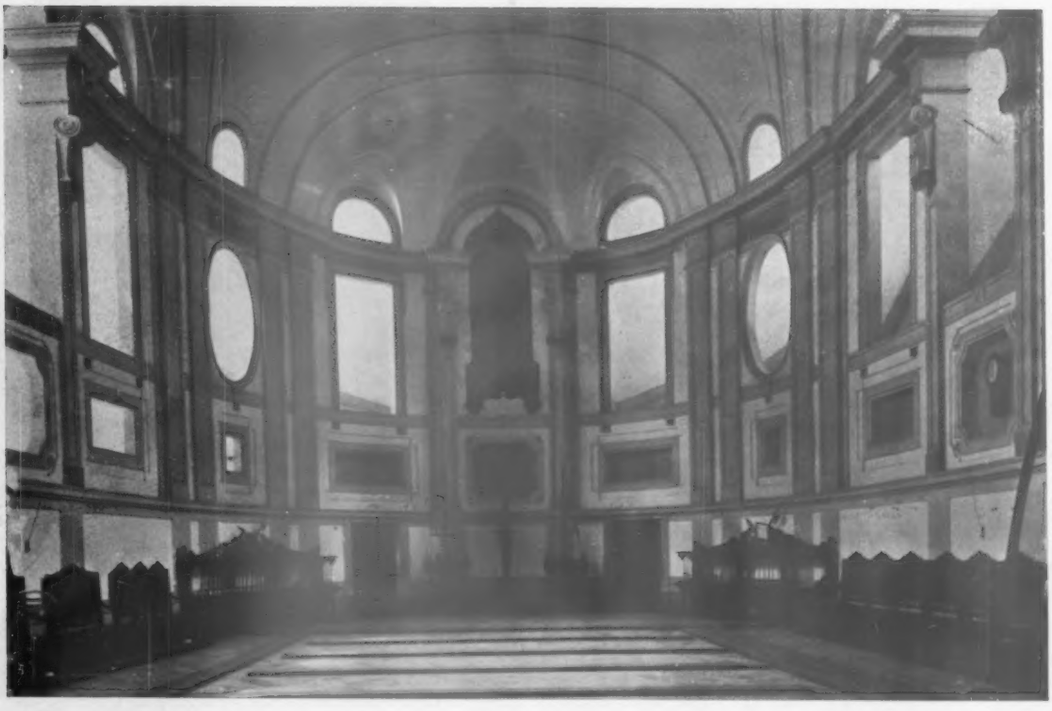

FIG. 53—*Sala Capitular*

Mafra, Convent

was so fond, an arch interrupted by a lintel. It is well used here, for the resulting emphasis upon the cornice accents perfectly the oval plan of the room.

A similar apartment is the so-called Sala dos Actos (Fig. 12e), a room in which learned discourses were read when the Arrabidans celebrated the achievements of their scholars. The decoration of the walls is simpler and the barrel vault is entirely covered with plaster (Fig. 54). At one end of the room there is a frame of rose marble for a painting by Sebastiano Conca,[219] and there are two balustrades of that type of intricate pierced or filigree patterns which Ludovice has used on the exterior. The marble plaque above the president's chair is a good example of his decoration in the vein of the marble lavabo and the altar of the sacristy. The room has preserved the four original tribunes for the members of the royal family, built of fine Brazilian walnut, as well as the polished doctoral chairs, the *doutorais,* about the walls.

The vast edifice of Mafra abounds in rooms decorated in this austere system of plaster with stone enframements. Further examples are the Corridor das Aulas (Fig. 12f), which extends the width of the central wing (Fig. 55), and the refectory of the friars (Figs. 56 and 12g). It was this latter room that inspired a description by Joseph Baretti more evocative than even Beckford's passages:

"As to the refectory, it is a glorious thing. The table that runs through it, admits of more than a hundred and fifty people on each side. By this you may judge of its length: yet there is room enough at one end of it for another table, at which the King will sometimes dine with some of his grandees.

"As I entered the refectory, a little before the friars went to dinner, the cloth was laid; and I could not help taking notice, that for every two they have a mug which contains about two bottles of wine. These mugs are all alike, of white-earthenware, with the arms of the King on each. Besides the mugs, there are trenchers of *Brazil*-wood, one for every two friars, with six figs upon it, two bunches of grapes, and two lemons. The rest of the dinner (I have not seen it) consists of three good dishes, fat or meagre as the day happens to be. Each friar has a wheaten loaf that weighs about a pound. Should they want more, they ask for more.

"When the three hundred Padres are at dinner, the hundred and fifty lay-friars wait behind with the greatest respect. It is the King that furnishes them with that food which makes them all look so florid and jolly. Such faces I never saw in my life, not even in the pictures of Paul Veronese, who delighted in painting friars handsome.

"They say that the maintenance of this great family costs the King no less than two hundred thousand crusadoes a year: nor do I think it an exaggeration, considering that at the rate of thirty two good teeth for every mouth, there are above fourteen thousand teeth a-going twice a day the whole year round. Then there is the additional expense of the morning chocolate, their cloaths, their firing, their great consumption of wax in the church, and in the cells, the candles and lamps in their dormitories and kitchens, beside many other articles to enumerate. What costs but little, is their

219. Sebastiano Conca (1680-1764) was a Neapolitan follower of Solimena. The palace and convent were filled with pictures by foreign artists such as: Trevisani, Agostino Masucci, Giaquinto Corrado, Francesco Solimena, and Pierre-Antoine Quillard, that follower of Watteau who came to Portugal with the Swiss naturalist, Dr. Merveilleux, and was employed by D. João V and the Duques de Cadaval on commissions which ranged from equestrian portraits to engraved book initials.

infirmary; but it must be observed that when any of them begins to grow old or turns sickly, he is sent to some other convent, and one young and healthy substituted in his room. Their infirmary I have not seen, nor their kitchen."[220]

The interior of the convent of Mafra is well constructed throughout. The brick barrel vaults without exception resisted the earthquake of 1755[221] and are still intact, The strength of Ludovice's vaults is well demonstrated by the Sala das Columnas (Fig. 12h), where four Tuscan columns support the vault beneath the library (Fig. 57).[222] The great Escadaria Dupla (Fig. 58), two separate marble staircases contained within a single room, is a remarkable *tour-de-force*. João Paulo Freire assigns the stairs to the engineer and architect, Custodio Vieira, but without advancing any evidence.[223]

Finally, there is at Mafra a small monastic garden laid out by Ludovice within the rear courtyard of the convent (Fig. 31). It is one of those small formal gardens unpretentiously decorated with a few ornamental basins, so popular in Portugal under D. João V. The monarch's lack of interest in horticulture and outdoor *fêtes* precluded the laying out of elaborate royal gardens, and this was reflected at the properties of the nobles. This garden of Mafra is typical of Portuguese gardens at this time.[224]

"But it is the building that deserves all one's attention. Few edifices in Europe (perhaps not ten) stand so majestic upon the face of the globe. The original architect was a German who had been bred at Rome; and a very dilated genius he must have had to imagine so vast a fabrick and adjust all the parts of it in so noble and convenient a manner as he had done."

Thus Joseph Baretti[225] describes his impression of the palace and convent at Mafra. The splendid relation of parts throughout the edifice, both in plan and design, is unquestionably Ludovice's greatest achievement at Mafra. He was the first to bring to Portugal the fruits of that Baroque technique and design which for over a century had been developing in Italy.

"In architecture he followed the style of the seventeenth century, I mean to say, of Bernini, of Borromini, and principally of Padre Pozzo, but refraining from some of the liberties they took." Volkmar Machado's estimate is correct.[226] Ludovice's style as shown at Mafra is more reserved than that of the great Roman masters of the Seicento. He acquired their technique, their power of invention, their mastery of rich color effects, but he rejected their fantasies of architecture. Unlike the majority of his German contemporaries, who were busy exaggerating the eccentricities in the works of those masters, Ludovice remained, in spirit, of the generation of Carlo Maderno,[227] the architect whom he most imitated. Yet, in retrospect, he seems neither

220. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 236-238.

221. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

222. The immense library, designed by the architect Manoel Caetano de Sousa long after the completion of the church and most of the convent, is a product of the Rococo of the second half of the eighteenth century.

223. *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

224. Another excellent example of this type of garden is that of the Tapada das Necessidades, laid out in connection with that Oratorian convent and palace built for D. João V by Caetano Thomas de Sousa between the years 1745 and 1750 on the heights above Alcántara in Lisbon.

225. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 246-247.

226. *Op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.

227. For a recent biography of the architect and an analysis of his style see Nina Caflisch, *op. cit.* How discreet and harmonious Ludovice's borrowings from Roman monuments really are is apparent if one compares Mafra with the Karlskirche of Vienna, that monument of Fischer von Erlach's reminiscences of Rome (W. Pinder, *op. cit.*, fig. 68).

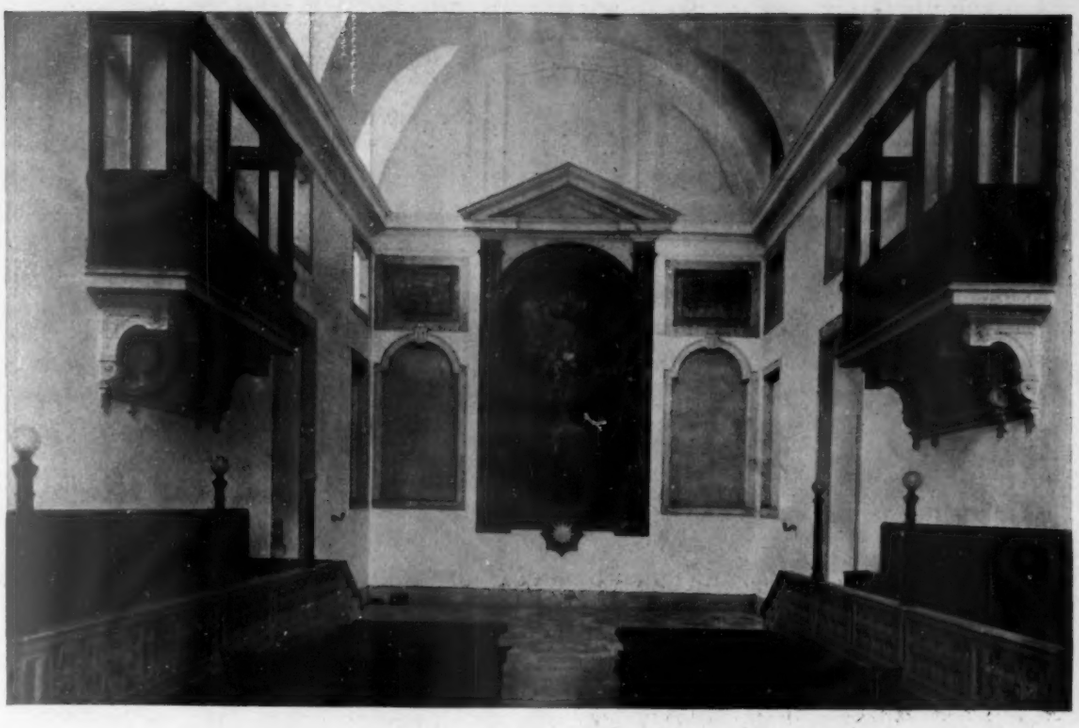

FIG. 54—*Sala dos Actos*

FIG. 55—*Corridor das Aulas*

FIG. 56—*Refectory*

Mafra, Convent

FIG. 57—*Mafra, Convent: Sala das Columnas*

FIG. 58—*Mafra, Convent: Escadaria Dupla*

FIG. 59—*Lisbon, Church of S. Antonio da Sé: Exterior*

a copyist nor a *retardataire*. Those many borrowings from Roman architects, reflections from Germany, and influences from Portugal are too skillfully blended with his own personal inventions.

The finest of these was undoubtedly the beautiful design and execution of architectural ornament throughout the convent of Mafra. Ludovice, who had been trained as a goldsmith, brought the same technique to architecture. The result was almost as with those first masters of the Florentine Renaissance who left their metal working to design palaces. Capitals, flutings, brackets, and all the paraphernalia of architecture were cut with the care and exactitude of a setting for a gem. And Ludovice paid equal attention to the cutting of blocks of stone. Just as the great Mansart at Versailles had demonstrated to his contemporaries the principles of fine handling of stone and had guaranteed French technique for a century to come, Ludovice taught to Portuguese architects the art of *boa cantaria*. The real significance of Mafra is not its own splendid design, but rather the opportunity it furnished builders all over Portugal to learn something of the refinements of good architecture. The men who worked in Ludovice's school at Mafra, Matheus Vicente and Reynaldo Manoel, copied the Ludovician designs with remarkable success (Fig. 59). The tradition of Mafra endured through the whole century so that in all the great royal buildings the stone was well cut, the ornament well designed and carried out, and the construction was sound and stable.[228]

The *Capella-mór* of the Cathedral of Evora

What we may consider Ludovice's second work in Portugal is the new *capella-mór* of the cathedral of Evora. When, in the year 1716, he received the commission to build it, he was already the architect of Mafra. Although the construction of the two monuments progressed conjointly, the work at Evora depends so clearly upon the design of the *capella-mór* of Mafra that we are justified in placing Evora after Mafra in our study of Ludovice's architecture. Our knowledge of the costruction of the new *capella-mór* derives largely from the excellent researches of one of the canons of the cathedral of Evora, D. João d'Annunciada.[229]

The building, founded in 1186 by the second bishop of Evora, Senhor D. Paio, is one of a series of late Romanesque buildings in Lisbon, Coimbra, Oporto, and Evora which were erected in the thirteenth century. Padre Francisco da Fonseca, in his *Evora Gloriosa*, asserts that the bishop, D. Durango I, who reigned from 1326 to 1336, added a *famosissima capella-mór*.[230] But the original thirteenth century structure had come down to the eighteenth century little changed. The canon, D. João d'Annunciada, reproached the royal archbishops of Evora, D. Afonso de Portugal, D. Theotonio de Bragança, and the cardinal king, D. Henrique, for not having enlarged and embellished the Sé cathedral during their long reigns in the sixteenth century.[231] At Evora there had been no important campaigns of improvement

228. The Palace of Queluz, 1758-1794 (Antonio Caldeira Pires, *Historia do palacio nacional de Queluz. Subsidios para a historia da arte portugueza XIV*, Coimbra, 1924); the Pombaline rebuilding of the Terreiro do Paço in Lisbon; and the royal church of the Memoria in Belem, built for D. José by Giovanni Carlo Bibiena in 1760.

229. *Descripcão da igreja cathedral d'Evora, Universo Pittoresc*, XIX (1844), p. 54.

230. Padre Francisco da Fonseca, *Evora Gloriosa*, Evora, 1728, p. 215.

231. D. Alfonso de Portugal (1525-1540); D. Henrique (1540-1564); D. Theotonio de Bragança (1578-1602).

as at the cathedrals of Vizeu and Braga.[232] The prelates of Evora had been too busy founding and erecting new convents and churches, "for reasons mystic and devout," to improve the old cathedral.[233] Of all the parts of the building the *capella mór* itself seemed most "narrow, small, ill-lighted, and unsuited for large ecclesiastical functions, in brief, the withered head of the body of the church.[234]

When the archbishop of Evora, D. Luiz da Silva, titular bishop of Ticiopolis (1691-1703) died, he left in his will the sum of 17,000 gold *cruzados* with which to build a new *capella-mór*.[235] But this sum his successor, the former bishop of Algarve, D. Simão da Gama, was unwilling to spend during the twelve years of his archepiscopate. When he died in 1715 nothing had been done on the new *capella-mór*. But the money left by D. Luiz da Silva remained intact. There then began a period of *Sé vaga*, when, the throne of Evora remaining vacant, the chapter itself ruled in place of the archbishop. This condition lasted until 1741, when D. Simão da Gama's successor was finally appointed by the king. According to D. João d'Annunciada, the chapter set about procuring plans for the new *capella-mór* immediately after D. Simão's death.[236]

In the autumn of 1716 D. João V, accompanied by his brother, the pious Infante D. Antonio, stopped at Evora on a pilgrimage to the shrine of N. S. da Conceição in his ancestral town of Vila Viçosa.[237] What happened during the royal visit to Evora is related in considerable detail by D. João d'Annunciada:

"The chapter, aware of the king's generosity, did not keep the business waiting, but straightway after the king's reception proposed the rebuilding of the *capella-mór*. From the archepiscopal palace, where he was lodged, the king emerged to see and examine the *capella-mór* as well as the drawings and plans of construction which had been prepared for it and were now ready. None deserved the royal approval, none satisfied the king, who ordered them all returned to Lisbon. This they did, and the occasion served splendidly to give impetus to the work, because there was in Lisbon João Federico Luduvice, the architect of Mafra...[238] Federico was consulted in the matter and the work was designed in imitation of the *capella-mór* of Mafra..."

In other words, according to D. João d'Annunciada, the chapter of Evora asked D. João V to contribute to the new *capella-mór*. The king accepted on condition that

232. The cathedral of Vizeu was rebuilt 1513, while that of Braga was reconstructed under the archbishop D. Diogo de Sousa during the 1530's.

233. D. João d'Annunciada, *op. cit.*

234. *Ibid.*

235. *Ibid.*

236. *Ibid.*

237. See the description of the journey in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of November 7, 1716. The king and his brother, Infante D. Antonio, left Lisbon at 9:15 on the night of October 31, and were rowed across the Tagus to Aldeia Gallega, where they slept. The next night was spent at Vendas Novas, the third was spent at the *quinta* of the Marquez de Gouveia, near Montemor. The night of November 2 was passed at Evora. Since they arrived at Vila Viçosa the next evening, they could have spent very little time in the former town. If we can accept the newspaper reporting of 1716, the king could not have been in Evora during the month of October, as D. João d'Annunciada relates. It is highly improbable, moreover, that the episode with the chapter took place while D. João V was going to Vila Viçosa, as the canon would have us believe. Much more likely it seems that His Majesty took up the matter of the *capella-mór* of Evora on his return from Vila Viçosa, for the *Gazeta de Lisboa* records that the king was in the *coro* of the cathedral of Evora on Saturday, November 7 and during his stay in Evora distributed many alms (*Gazeta de Lisboa*, November 17, 1716).

238. *Vido d'Alemanha donde era natural a executar o seu Risco já preferido aos mais por apparatoso* (D. João d'Annunciada, *op. cit.*). The canon evidently thought that Ludovice had sent his drawings for Mafra to the king directly from Germany.

FIG. 60—*Evora, Capella-mór of Cathedral: Exterior*

FIG. 61—*Mafra, Convent: Exterior*

FIG. 62—*Interior*

FIG. 63—*Detail of High Altar*

FIG. 64—*A Door*

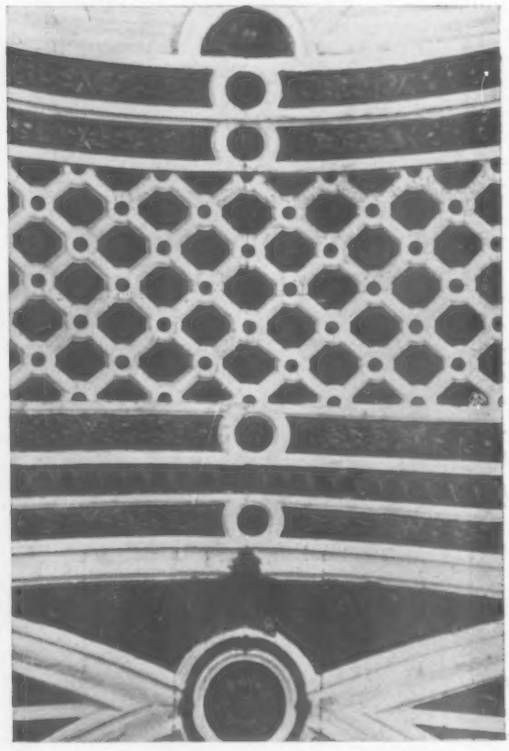

FIG. 65—*Detail of Vault*

Evora, Capella-mór of Cathedral

it be designed by his new architect of Mafra. The canon asserts that D. João V took as much interest in the affair as though it were his private chapel.[239]

D. João d'Annunciada gives us important information as to the men who built the monument. Ludovice's chief assistant and probably the actual builder of the *capella-mór* was the architect Carlos Baptista,[240] who in 1717 came to Evora to test the new foundations. His judgment was favorable, and on February 13, 1718, it was ordered that the building should commence. But the work was delayed and nothing could be done before September 6.[241]

Two canons of Evora, Sebastião de Mira Coelho and Antonio Rosado Bravo, were appointed to superintend the work. Manoel Gomes acted as a third superintendent. The Oratorian, Padre Antonio Franco, "Director of the Extraction of Stone in Estremoz," had charge of the purchase, quarrying, and transportation of the marbles. The actual contractor was Antonio Bernardo de Lucena, who owned considerable property near Estremoz.

The work was begun in 1718,[242] but the *capella-mór* was not dedicated until May 22, 1746. It probably had been completed much earlier, for we are told that in 1729, when a Te Deum was sung in the cathedral of Evora on the return of the court from the Caia, the royal party knelt in the chancel itself.[243] The *capella-mór* must certainly have been concluded before so important an event as the royal visit to Evora, when the court passed through the city on its way to and from the interviews on the Caia. The chapter probably delayed the consecration until 1741, when their new archbishop was named, and the ceremony may have been further postponed to coincide with some ancient cathedral anniversary. D. João d'Annunciada hints at some such occurrence in the words, "D. Frey Miguel de Tavora, the archbishop, consecrated it [the *capella-mór*] on the May 22, 1746, the day on which the ancient dedication was commemorated."[244] The ceremony was magnificent, and culminated in the unveiling of a Latin epitaph more sonorous than that of Mafra.

The cost of the building was estimated by D. João d'Annunciada at over a million *cruzados*.[245] We have only the receipts of the bills paid for the Estremoz marbles.

239. João V insisted upon several changes. Ludovice had suggested a vault covered with stucco, but the King insisted upon the present marble one (*pedra encarnada à Cardeal*). The chapter wanted choir stalls with high backs and seats that could be raised and lowered. D. João, however, substituted the backless benches of the type used in the Pontifical Chapel at Rome. The story has the ring of authenticity (*ibid.*).

240. He was possibly related to that Padre João Baptista who built the church of N. S. de Ares near Viana do Alentejo (Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 87).

241. D. João d'Annunciada, *op. cit.*

242. The canon describes the building operations: *De Estremoz, Borba, Villaviçosa, Montesclaros, vierão as Pedras mais corpulentes puchadas humas a 19 Juntas de Bois, outras a 13, outras a 11, e outras a 9, quaes fossem não he possivel agora distinguir, porque vinhão toscas ainda, e sem polimento marcadas com numeros de conta, e só por esta cifra se aceitavão, e pagava-se o seu transporte. Entre as Pedras encontradas conserva nome huma a que o Padre Franco chama Soberana, de 19 palmos de largura, 36 de comprimento, e palmo e meio de grossura destinada para Bofete, ou Mesa das Sessoens Capitulares, porem os Estados do Cabido por curtos e acanhados ficarão sem merecer a honra e o goso desta Soberana. Toda a pedra branca, mais ou menos calcaria, a pedra azul escura, empregada na obra sahio de Estremoz, a pedra vermelha, amarella, preta, e a pedra de burnis, sahio de Cintra e Visinhanças. A pedra verde veio de Roma. Antonio Vicente, e Matheus Francisco do lugar de Canessas, obrigarão-se a arrancar 74 Pedras vermelhas das Pedreiras de Cintra, assim como Manoel Gonçalves Lobato s'obrigou a arrancar 59 pedras das mesmas Pedreiras para a Capella-Mór d'Evora. Forão Mestres da Obra em Evora Manoel Gomes, e Manoel da Cruz, ambos subordinados à direcção de Federico (ibid.).*

243. Gabriel Pereira, *Estudos Eborenses*, Evora, 1886, vol. II, p. 20.

244. D. João d'Annunciada, *op. cit.*

245. *Ibid.*

More than 91,000 *cruzados* went into these transactions alone. There in no record of exactly how much was paid to the architects, the sculptors, the supervisors, the stone masons who worked in Evora, nor what was paid for the marbles, paintings, and furniture imported from Italy. In 1721 a wooden model of the new chapel, one fourth its size in scale, was prepared at the cost of 2000 *cruzados*.[246] The original 17,000 *cruzados* of Archbishop da Silva could have paid only a fraction of the final cost. D. João V really financed the undertaking.

The *capella-mór* of the cathedral of Evora is an improvised addition to an older building. In plan it follows the width and height of the mediaeval nave. On the exterior it incorporates two buttress towers of the earlier chancel. Built upon sloping ground, it is supported on the south side by a considerable *soubassement*. The walls are of great thickness, for, as at Mafra, there are narrow interior ambulatories. At Evora there are two. The lower passage is connected with the upper one by a pair of spiral staircases of thirty-one steps. They open upon small anterooms communicating with the two open galleries, one of which is arranged for musicians, while the other contains an organ. From the level of the upper ambulatory two additional spiral staircases give access to the terrace of the roof.

The *capella-mór* of the cathedral of Evora on the exterior has a good deal in common with the transept and apsidal exteriors of the convent of Mafra (Figs. 60 and 61). There are two orders of paired pilasters, the lower Ionic, the upper composite. The double entablature has the same treatment *en ressaut*. The windows at Evora have the same low segmental hoods as those at Mafra, and the upper balustrades are of identical form (though the one at Evora is surmounted by the torchlike members that decorate only the main façade and towers of Mafra). Both monuments have the same projecting waterspouts. Finally, the marble of the *capella-mór* at Evora has weathered in the same striking fashion to the sooty brown of the *pedra lioz* at Mafra. In the lower story at Evora Ludovice used window frames which follow the style of the convent, and the small oval windows surmounted by tiny pediments, descendants of those Michelangelo used at St. Peter's, were also used at Mafra.

On the other hand, there are certain noticeable differences. Although the exteriors of both monuments are divided by the lower cornice into two different and distinct stories, the upper story at Evora has not the complication that we have seen at Mafra. There is no attic member, and the upper story in the cathedral of Evora is not divided into two distinct elements. Although the lower balustrade is used to join the projecting buttresslike member, as it does at Mafra, it serves also to accent the break between the two stories, and not to complicate the division of the upper story. The upper cornice is not so marked as that at Mafra, and the details are not so well cut. On the whole, the decoration of the exterior of the *capella-mór* is soberer than that of the basilica of Mafra.

Ludovice designed the monument of Evora with more thought for unity than for originality. The bold complicated effect of the Mafra tribunes is lost. But the success of that pattern was dependent upon the contrasts, the foils, provided by

246. The model is now installed in the church of S. Francisco at Evora, where it serves as a chapel.

the surrounding mass of the convent buildings. At the cathedral of Evora the architect probably realized that the disign was to be seen as a single unit, dominating the low houses about it. The "playing down" of the lower balustrade and the accenting of the pilaster groups gives the design the unity it needs.

The interior of the *capella-mór* at Evora is, in general, similar to that of the basilica of Mafra. The proportions, however, are not the same.

The former is much lower, narrower, and deeper, in proportion, than the latter. The order is not so tall, partly because of the difference in scale, and partly because at Evora it rests on a high base that does not form part of the scheme at Mafra (Figs. 62 and 64). Nor do the subsidiary engaged columns that complicate the system at Evora appear at Mafra. Yet the design of the altarpiece, with its broken arch pediment surmounted by kneeling angels in adoration of a great cross silhouetted against a dark marble panel, is identical (Fig. 63).[247] The pattern of the marbles in the apsidal vault, the contrast of the broad ribs of white marble against the rose background, is a repetition of the Mafra scheme.

But the interior at Evora is more lively. It is better lighted and the marbles are more colorful. The combination of blue, rose, and white is now dominated by the brilliant yellow of the marble from Montesclaros and the vivid verd antique panels beneath the galleries. A final note of contrast and color is furnished by the two small doors at the sides of the altar (Fig. 64). Their frames of black marble with shells of yellow marble within the pediments are almost like those of the Mafra chapel doors.

There is a profusion of rich sculpture throughout the *capella-mór*. Both the busts of Sts. Peter and Paul over the small doors, and the allegorical figures of the pediments over the galleries are the work of João Antonio Bellini da Padua, an Italianate sculptor who collaborated with Ludovice again at S. Domingos in Lisbon.[248]

247. Assigned to the mysterious sculptor, Manoel Dias, of whom Volkmar Machado wrote: *Discipulo de Manoel de Andrade: chamavão-lhe o pae dos Christos, porque fazia muitos Crucifixos. Era seu o da Capella-Mór da Se de Evora, o S. Miguel da Pena, o S. Francisco da procissão de Mafra, e outros muitos. Entrou na Irmandade de S. Lucas em 1713, e morreo em 20 de março de 1754* (*op. cit.*, p. 259).

248. The principal sculptor who collaborated with Ludovice in the decoration of the *capella-mór* was João Antonio Bellini de Padua. His are the four allegorical figures on the pediments above the two lateral galleries. He also carved the two kneeling angels above the altar and the busts of Sts. Peter and Paul over the small side doors. These heads of nervous, emaciated old men are closely related to those of the Sts. Francis and Dominic which he was later to do for the *capella-mór* of the church of S. Domingos in Lisbon.

Volkmar Machado criticizes the sculptor's works as being, *pouco boas* (*ibid.*, p. 252), and mentions other statues: *os pulpitos na Igreja de S. Antão: os serafins no oratorio da Moeda* (all of which perished in the earthquake of 1755), and the *S. João Nepomuceno da Ponte de Alcantara feito em 1743*.

This statue, of heroic proportions, survived the earthquake, which destroyed the bridge, and is now at the Museu Arqueologico in Lisbon. The statue was commissioned by the queen herself, and was dedicated January 8, 1744, in the presence of D. Marianna de Austria and the Prince and Princess of Brazil (Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 352). It was perhaps the sculptor's masterpiece.

João Antonio Bellini de Padua was probably also the author of the lost marble statue of D. João V, which, before the earthquake, stood in front of the Arsenal da Marinha. In 1737 he published a *Descripçam da engenhosa maquina em que para memoria se colloca a marmorea estatua do senhor D. João V, inventada e delineada por João Antonio Bellini de Padua, escultor e architecto* (Lisbon, no date). Although the sculptor here refers to himself as also an architect, I know of no buildings which can be attributed to him.

Sousa Viterbo tries unsuccessfully to prove that the "Antonio de Padua" who signed a contract with the Jesuits of S. Antão for a marble relief for their *quinta* of S. Barbara near Punhete, and who executed the marble altarpieces of the Convent of Louriçal is not the João Antonio Bellini de Padua of Lisbon and Evora (*Diccionario*, vol. II, p. 235).

The sculptor, who was certainly an Italian (C. V.

The elaborate decoration of the walls of the *capella-mór* is extended into the vaulting. Every inch of the surface is covered with sculptured rosettes set in heavy frames of contrasting marbles (Figs. 63 and 65). There are bandings of guilloches and tightly bound garlands, decorations of a minute character somewhat out of keeping with the bold ribs of the apse, and of a sobriety which contrasts with the florid Baroque ornaments of the center of the vault.

On the whole, the design of this interior is inferior to that of the *capella-mór* of the basilica of Mafra. The proportions, dictated by those of the rest of the cathedral, are unfortunate. The Evora *capella-mór* is too narrow for its great height; it flaunts the canon of Renaissance proportions. The height of the vault is too great for that of the nave. If the vault of Mafra is too depressed, this is certainly too projected. Had he been able to reconstruct the whole cathedral of Evora, Ludovice would probably not have repeated these proportions. Of course, at Mafra both the church and the sacristy appear too narrow for their height. But those proportions are not so exaggerated as these at Evora. I attribute them not to any special taste on the part of Ludovice, but rather to the handicaps presented by the existing building.

But the decoration of the *capella-mór* at Evora is as splendid as anything Ludovice produced at the convent of Mafra. The rich handling of the marbles, the excellence of the sculptured panels, the fine cutting of window frames, doors, and architectural detail demonstrate the architect's real ability.

The *Quinta* at Bemfica

Ludovice's commissions had made him a wealthy man. In 1720 he bought a *quinta*,[249] a country property in Bemfica, that town of country houses to the north of Lisbon. It was here that he married his second wife, Anna Maria Verney. Whatever buildings the architect may have found on his Quinta da Alfarrobeira[250] he soon removed, and in 1727 had erected a new house of his own design.[251]

In keeping with the religious practice of the Portuguese court, Ludovice built his house around a chapel. Volkmar Machado called the *quinta* "his chapel in Bemfica, noteworthy though small in scale."[252]

The house is a rectangular structure of two and a half stories. The construction is again in plaster and stone, that combination so popular in southern Portugal. The tile roofs are slightly pitched to conform to the native tradition. The principal façade of the house is carried out with the greatest simplicity (Fig. 66). The central portion is merely marked off by two stone pilaster strips ornamented with attenuated triglyphs. The center space and the pediment above it are too small and too narrow in relation to the proportions of the whole façade. This is further

Machado, *op. cit.*, p. 252), played in the first half of the eighteenth century at Lisbon the rôle which Alessandro Giusti was destined so much more capably to fill in the second. His merits as a sculptor are slight, but so great was the dearth of native sculptors that he was able for a long time to dominate this branch of art in Portugal.

249. So called because the peasant paid his landlord one-fifth of the produce of the land. The word may be used to refer to either the house or the property.

250. Carob tree.

251. In 1827 Infanta D. Izabel Maria, Regent of Portugal, spent the summer at this property. The house is now owned by Senhor Manoel Martins Gomes Jr.

252. *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

FIG. 66—*Main Façade*

FIG. 67—*Side Façade*

FIG. 68—*Garden Façade*

Bemfica, Quinta da Alfarrobeira

FIG. 69—*Bemfica, Quinta da Alfarrobeira: Garden House*

FIG. 70—*Bemfica, Quinta da Alfarrobeira: Chapel*

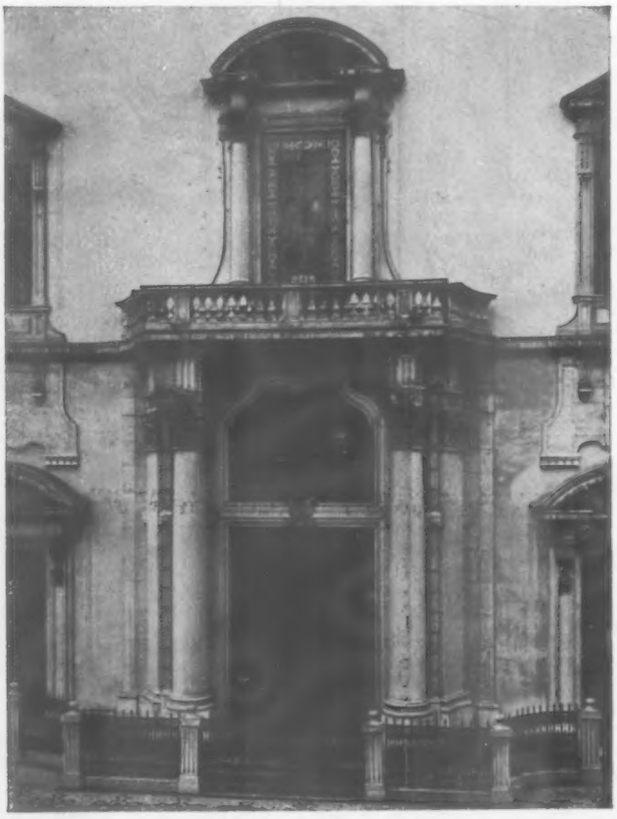

FIG. 71—*Lisbon, Church of S. Domingos: Main Door*

evidence of that tendency toward elongation in the architecture of Ludovice which was already apparent at Mafra.

The architectural details throughout the house are extremely simple. The frames of the doors and windows are rectangular stone frames devoid of ornament. Plain, unsculptured consoles support the balconies. Ludovice has here omitted the decorative richness of Mafra and the *capella-mór* at Evora. The iron bars before the low windows of the street façade, suggestive of Spanish *rejas*, are a rare occurrence in Portugal. The door of this main façade gives access to the chapel itself. One enters the house through a *loggia* at the side.

Ludovice has designed the side façade in a form reminiscent of Italian farmhouses of the Settecento (Fig. 67). But the proportions and the fine cutting of the stone have a typically Ludovician distinction. The three rusticated arches of the deep loggia are beautifully spaced in the center of the façade. The outlines of the simple cornice, window frames, and arches, are as precise and incisive as the decorations of Mafra.

The garden façade is a repetition of the arrangement of the main façade (Fig. 68). But here the center space, with its three doors and windows, is better proportioned to the whole. The balcony, supported on the same simple consoles, is now carried across the entire space. The tile roofs, with their flaring iron waterspouts, have an almost Oriental aspect.

The chapel is the only room of distinction within the *quinta* (Fig. 70). Very narrow in proportion to its height, it rises through the *andar nobre*, communicating with the apartments of that floor by means of a raised *coro* and two small *coretti*. Save for the vault, the whole room is faced with colored marbles, the spoil probably of Mafra, as are no doubt the copy of the altarpiece of the Cappella Cibò in Rome,[253] and the dark paintings of the side walls. The black marble frames of the altarpiece and the brilliantly painted and gilded stucco garlands and floral cartouches recall the small altar of the sacristy of Mafra.

Another comparison with Mafra is furnished by the fountain of colored marbles, rose, yellow, and blue, in the ruined garden house of the *quinta* (Fig. 69). It suggests at once the marble lavabo in the sacristy at Mafra. Both have the same scalloped pedimental device, boldly flaring outlines, and paneled surface. The fountain niche is supported by shells as bizarre as the snail ornaments of the lavabo. The volutes of the little niche are as beautifully carved as Ludovice's Corinthian capitals.

The Patriarchal Church

The third occasion on which Ludovice worked for D. João V was in the preparation of the patriarchal church. During the king's reign this church was housed in the royal chapel itself. D. Manoel had been the first sovereign to build a church in connection with the palace on the Terreiro do Paço.[254] The royal chapel had been dedicated to St. Thomas as Protector of India. On January 24, 1709, D. João V had

253. Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) painted the altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin with the Four Doctors of the Church for the Cappella Cibò, which Carlo Fontana constructed in 1660 in S. Maria del Popolo.

254. This royal palace, known as the Paços da Ribeira, because of its location on the water front, was begun in the reign of D. Manoel (1495-1521). It was a building with four square angle towers and galleries facing the great Terreiro do Paço, the

donated from the revenues of the customs house of Lisbon, the Alfandega, a considerable sum for the maintenance of the chapel. One year later, on the first of March, Pope Clement XI, by the bull *Apostulatus Ministerio,* had elevated the royal chapel of Lisbon to the dignity of a *collegiada,* and by the tenth of May six *dignidades,* eighteen canons, and twelve *beneficiados* had been appointed.[255] On November 7, 1716, the patriarchate was established. The problem was at once raised as to where the new institution should be housed. The possibility of establishing the patriarchate in the old cathedral of Lisbon seems never to have been considered.[256] Temporarily the royal chapel sufficed. It was not until three years later, we are told, that steps were taken to build a new church.[257]

On February 7, 1720, a committee of nobles, ministers, and doctors was called to choose a site. It had already been determined to build a patriarchal church and a palace for the patriarch as well.[258] For these buildings Juvara had been invited to prepare plans and had come on purpose to Portugal. João Baptista de Castro, in his *Mappa de Portugal,* has left a curious account of the meeting, at which the architects, Ludovice and Juvara, were both present.[259]

According to this writer two sites were considered, the Terreiro do Paço itself and the hill known as Buenos Aires. The doctors approved the latter position as more salubrious for the location of a metropolitan church. But the majority of the nobles and officials balked at this idea. They insisted that the old Terreiro do Paço was more consonant with the dignity of the Lisbon patriarchate, which should be near the abode of the king who had called it into being. Finally, "the Marquez de Alegrete, the Condes de Aveiras, Unhão, Ericeira, Valladares, and S. Lourenço and *Federico* were of the opinion that they preferred Buenos Aires, and D. Filippe Ibarra [sic], the great Sicilian architect, did not express an opinion."[260] The matter soon reached a deadlock. We know that the engineer, Manoel da Maya, actually prepared drawings and made a model of the district of Buenos Aires for D. João V.[261] But finally the king grew tired of the matter and refused to consider a new church at all, saying that, like David, he would let his son build the Temple. This is the improbable story that João Baptista de Castro relates in the *Mappa de Portugal.*

But Francisco Xavier da Silva has another version which seems more likely. He wrote: "His Majesty planned to build a church which should serve for the patriarchate.... The plan was drawn and the ground was marked off near the Ribeira de Alcantara;[262]

principal square in Lisbon. D. João III (1521-1557) had continued the building toward the river, and the Italian architect of Philip II, Terzi, had built a great square tower surmounted by a cupola, the so-called *Forte*, where D. João V installed his library. Neglected by D. Pedro II, the palace was restored by his son. Although Juvara was requested to prepare drawings for a rebuilding of the palace, there is no record that any such general rebuilding was carried out. It seems that D. João merely redecorated the interior, adding several rich marble galleries. For engravings of the palace as it existed in the eighteenth century see D. J. A. de Colmenar, *Les délices...*, vol. VI, pl. 158, and *Les annales...*, vol. III, pls. 141, 143.

255. João Baptista de Castro, *Mappa de Portugal,* Lisbon, 1763, vol. III, p. 182.

256. On December 13, 1740, the old cathedral of Lisbon was extinguished in favor of a single *Igreja Patriarchal.*

257. J. B. de Castro, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 180.

258. The *Explication de l'estampe de Lisbonne avec une déscription succincte des curiosités et événements memorables de cette ville,* published at Paris in 1755, states that D. João V had built a palace for the patriarchs near the royal chapel. Yet we have no assurance that Juvara built it.

259. *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 180.

260. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

261. Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario,* vol. II, p. 127.

262. The Ribeira de Alcantara lies roughly at the foot of the hill of Buenos Aires along the shore of the Tagus on the level of the Terreiro do Paço, but a considerable distance to the west. Thus it would appear that a compromise had been suggested.

but when the architect D. Filippe told the king that, beyond a certain considerable sum of millions he would need the period of thirty years for the construction the king replied that the expense was immaterial and that the only difficulty was the time required, because he could not wait to see the completion...."[263]

According to Padre da Silva, therefore, D. João V shrank from undertaking another long building campaign, especially when the construction of Mafra was just getting under way. The author praises Juvara's drawings for the patriarchal church. Like almost all the architectural designs of this period, they have long since disappeared.[264] We shall, therefore, probably never know whether Juvara proposed to set a second Superga upon the banks of the Tagus.

Probably the truth of the matter was that Juvara was not prevented from building his church because the committee could not agree upon a site or because the king was unwilling to embark upon so long an undertaking. We should rather suspect another of those intrigues by Ludovice to interfere with the contracts awarded to his rivals. He may well have prevented Juvara from arriving at anything definite by the use of those same tactics whereby, as we shall see, he was to interfere with Vanvitelli's commission at S. Roque.

After these unsuccessful negotiations in 1719 and 1720 matters stood very much as they had when the patriarchate was founded three years before. Since the idea of a new church had been rejected, there was nothing to do but rebuild the old royal chapel. This time the commission went to Ludovice, who set about "improving and adding in some parts to the old building as much as it was possible."[265] It was rededicated to the Salvador do Mundo and to Nossa Senhora da Assumpção in one of those double invocations of which the Portuguese were fond.[266] The church was not consecrated until 1746, the year of the consecration of the *capella-mór* of the cathedral of Evora. Nine years later it was entirely destroyed in the earthquake of 1755.

The descriptions of the redecorated royal chapel which have come down to us are vague and fragmentary. There are no engravings or paintings of the building as it existed before the catastrophe. We know that it had three aisles, three galleries for musicians, a royal tribune communicating with the palace, a dome, and a great bell tower.[267] The *coro* was located in the center of the church, according to the Spanish usage.[268] Barbosa Machado praises the barrel vault and the arch leading into the *capella-mór*.[269] The church was filled with the most costly gold and silver ornaments. The great cross, made by Antonio Arrighi[270] in Rome in 1732, cost 300,000 *cruzados*, and was considered a wonder of the age.[271] Two especially rich candlesticks sent from Rome by José Maria da Fonseca e Evora were awaited in 1730 with impatience

263. *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

264. The drawing in the portfolio at the Academia das Belas Artes which is thought to represent the lost designs cannot definitely be identified with Juvara.

265. J. B. de Castro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 194.

266. The convent of Mafra had been dedicated to St. Anthony and to Our Lady, the chapel at S. Roque to the Baptist and the Holy Ghost, and the great church in Guimarães was placed under the invocation of the Senhor dos Passos and of N. S. da Consolação.

267. J. B. de Castro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 194-196.

268. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

269. *Historia critico-chronologica da procissão.... do Corpo de Deus...*, Lisbon, 1749, p. 146.

270. Possibly that Antonio Arrighi of Rome who in 1705 was working on an altar of the cathedral of Bergamo (F. Malaguzzi-Valeri's article on Antonio Arrighi in Thieme Becker, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 153.

271. J. B. de Castro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 109-110.

by the whole Portuguese court.[272] Finally, in 1750, a huge silver statue of the Immaculate Conception was placed above the high altar.[273]

The church was famed abroad for its richness. Moréri's great dictionary says of it: *L'Eglise patriarchale est une des plus magnifiques églises que l'on conoisse aujourd'hui en Europe.*[274] Another writer relates: "What riches were not contained in the holy patriarchal church, in which you saw nothing but gold and silver...."[275] The church had become a veritable repository of that Brazilian wealth which was transforming Portugal in the reign of D. João V.

Although the monument perished in the earthquake along with the entire palace to which it was connected, what is considered by historians to have been the principal door of the church has survived. It is now incorporated in the new façade which was added to the church of S. Domingos in Lisbon after the earthquake of November 1, 1755 (Fig. 71).

We cannot identify this door with the vague descriptions which Barbosa Machado gives of the portals of the patriarchal church. Of one of the doors he says: "This door is of great width and in its height it exceeds many triumphal arches, while in the perfection of its architecture it transcends the best doors in Lisbon."[276] This description of the portal as unusually high and broad and the comparison with a triumphal arch are interesting, because the door at S. Domingos has these characteristics. The use of two superposed orders with two openings, one above the other, may have suggested to Barbosa Machado those fantastic two-storied arches which were erected so frequently at this time in Lisbon and which were so elaborately described in innumerable pamphlets.[277]

Some further information is contained in a manuscript long in the possession of the writer Camillo Castello Branco, and published by him in his *Noites de Insomnia*.[278] The document describes in detail the constructions undertaken by D. João V at the royal palace in Lisbon. The author states that Ludovice had been employed upon the decoration of several of the galleries and of the great vestibule which the king had caused to be erected between the palace and the adjoining chapel.[279] Finally mention is made of the two portions of the palace opening upon the *largo da Patriarchal*. The writer must be referring here to the exterior of the royal chapel. He adds: "In the middle of each one rises a grandiose portico, raised on four huge marble columns, with Corinthian capitals of excellently cut foliage." The portal of S. Domingos, which consists of two Corinthian engaged columns and two Corinthian pilasters, may have been one of these two doorways mentioned in the manuscript.

272. *Cartas de J. C. de Abreu....*

273. Pr. F. X. da Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

274. *Le grand dictionnaire historique de Moréri. Nouvelle et dernière édition*, Paris, 1759, vol. VI, *partie* II, pp. 332-333.

275. Moreira de Mendonça, *Historia dos terremotos*, Lisbon, 1755, p. 115.

276. *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

277. For the description of some of these arches see: *Descripçam do arco triunfal, que a nação ingleza mandou levantar na occasião em que as magestades dos serenissimos reys de Portugal.... forão à Cathedral de Lisboa*, Lisbon, 1708; Francisco Leitão Ferreira, *Idea poetica, epithalamica panegyrica que servio no arco triunfal que a nação italiana mandou levantar na occasião em que as magestades dos serenissimos reys de Portugal, D. João V e D. Marianna foram à Cathedral de Lisboa, no dia de sabbado 22 de dezembro de 1708*, Lisbon, 1709; *Descripçam da ponte em Belem na entrada da serenissima Princeza dos Brasis, D. Maria Anna Victoria*, Lisbon, 1730.

278. Camillo Castello Branco, *Noites de Insomnia*, Oporto, 1929, pp. 112 ff.

279. *Consta.... de varios corpos e muitas galerias todas de apuradissima arte, obra do famoso architecto Frederico, em que os marmores apostam duração com a eternidade (ibid.).*

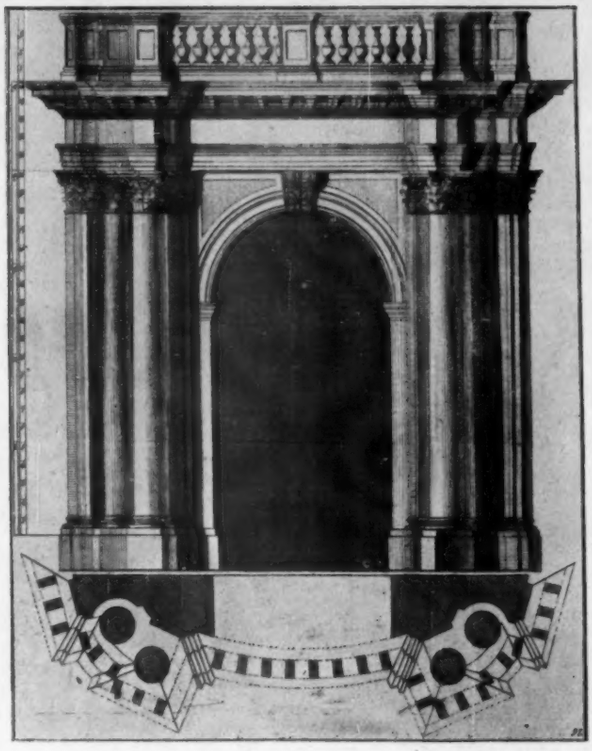

FIG. 72—*Design for a Door* (*From* Grundmässige Anweisung..., *by J. R. Fäsch*)

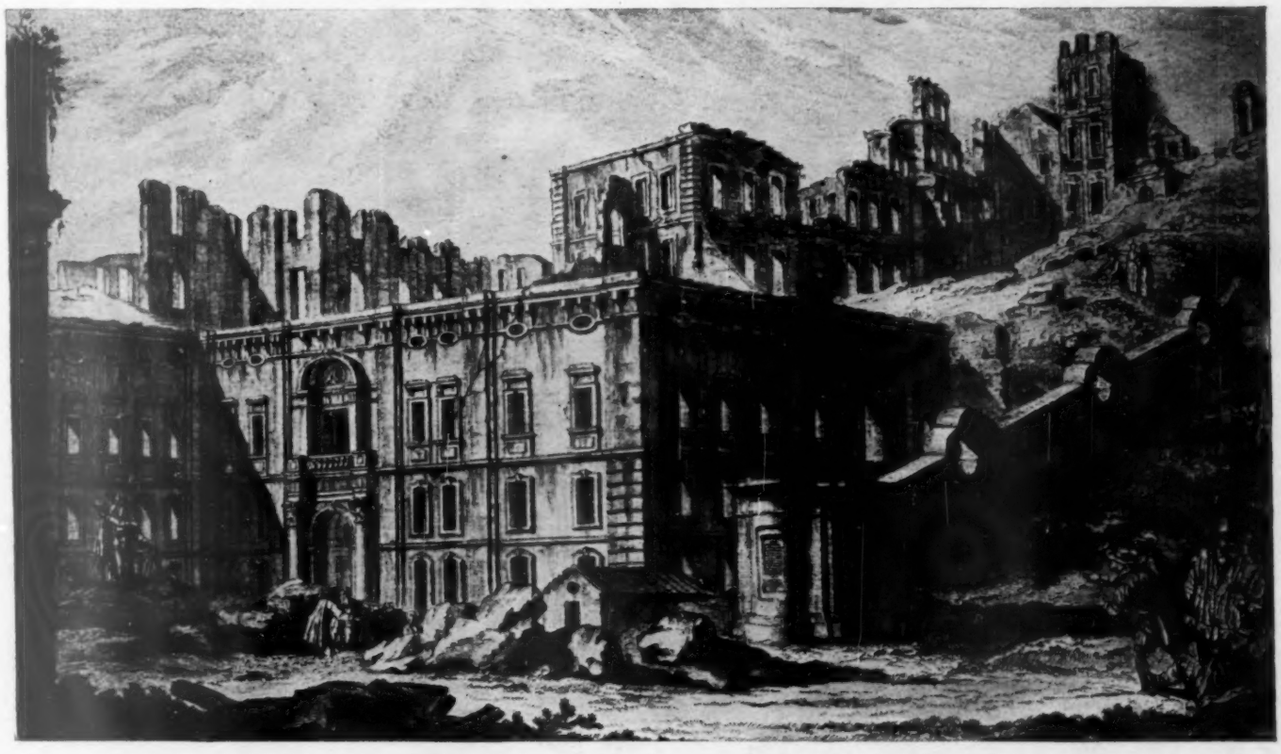

FIG. 73—*Place de la Patriarchale* (*Engraving by Jacob Philippe LeBas*)

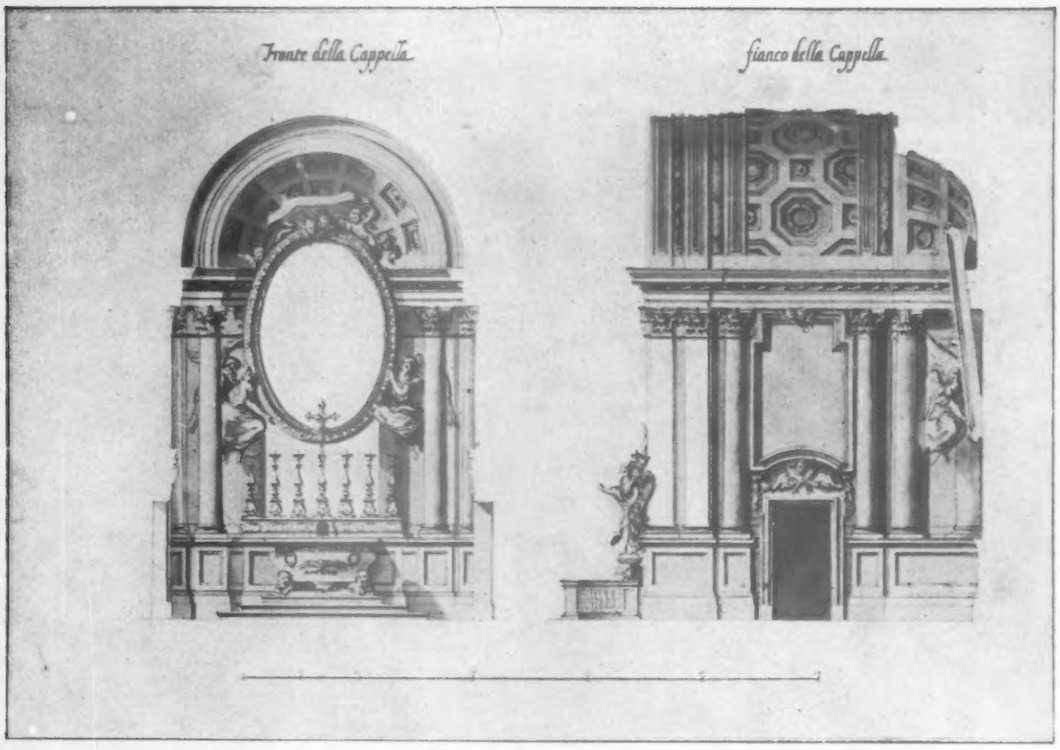

FIG. 74—*Elevations*

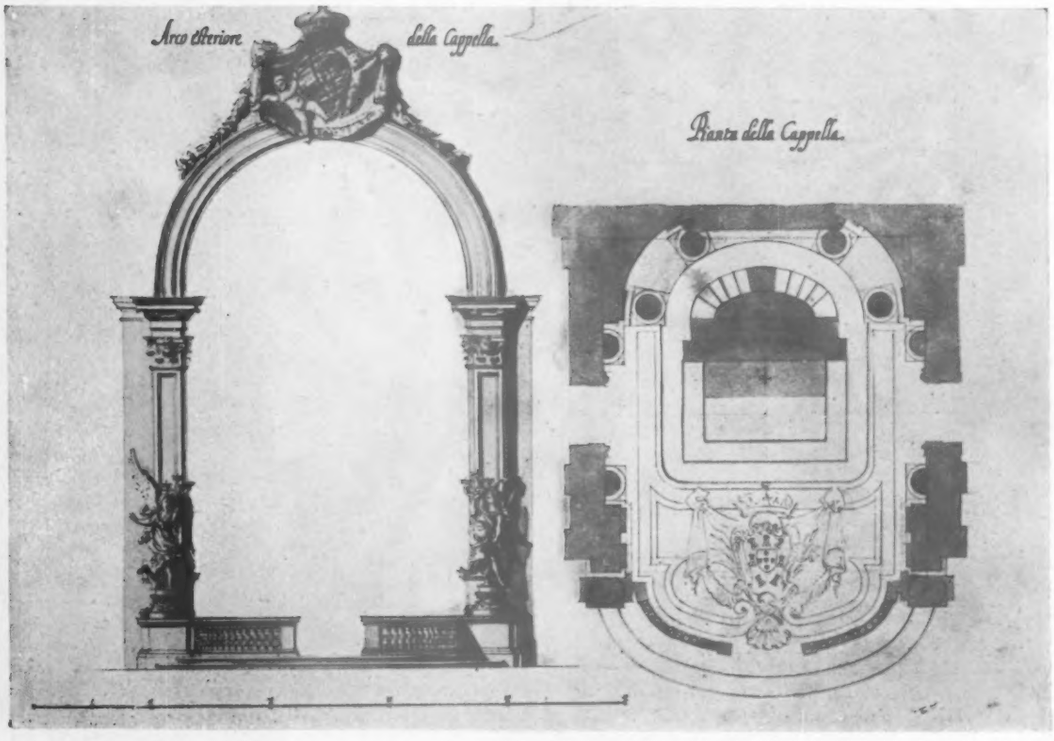

FIG. 75—*Arch and Plan*

Chapel of S. João Baptista *(Drawings in Museo di S. Martino, Naples)*

We have a further reflection of the lost patriarchal church in an engraving by a French artist, Jacob Philippe LeBas. This engraving, called *Place de la Patriarchale,* is one of a series of six prints of ruined edifices in Lisbon, published by MM. Paris and Pedegache in 1757 (Fig. 73).[280]

If this was really the exterior of the royal chapel there was nothing to distinguish it from the secular appearance of a palace façade. What appears of these walls in the engraving is typically Ludovician in style. The frames and construction of the upper windows and the paired consoles are distinctly like those of the main façade at Mafra.

The door of the ruined building in the engraving is strikingly similar to that at S. Domingos. There are the two superposed orders, each framing a separate opening. In both a balustrade forms a balcony above the doorway and both have circular pediments over the windows. The curious use of triglyphs above a Corinthian order appears in both. Yet the engraving does not show the flat lintel of the S. Domingos door nor the small flat volutes that frame the window above. The frieze of the lower section is carried across the whole doorframe, whereas in the existing portal the frieze is limited to triglyphs over the lower columns only. These inconsistencies, however, may very possibly be due to faulty notes. LeBas may not have sketched the patriarchal door too carefully in the drawing he made at Lisbon for the engraving. In spite of these differences in details I am convinced that the French engraving represents the doorway which is now at S. Domingos.

But did Ludovice really design this doorway? We have only the assurance of João Baptista de Castro and the writer of Camillo's manuscript that he worked at the patriarchal church. There are no documents to prove it. The great mass of patriarchal contracts, titles, and other documents at the national archives of the Torre do Tombo go back only as far as the winter of 1755 to 1756.[281] In other words, the documental history of the Lisbon patriarchate can only be traced consecutively after the earthquake. All the contracts, certainly, before this time seem to have perished in the catastrophe.

Stylistically, however, there is no question that the door at S. Domingos was designed by Ludovice. The delicate carving of the capitals, the trophies, and the elegant tiny garlands within the triglyphs are exact repetitions of the decorations at Mafra. Furthermore, the peculiar use of pilasters at a decided angle, forcing the main order forward is exactly what characterizes the door of Ludovice's own palace in the Rua de S. Pedro de Alcántara (Fig. 80).

The design itself may even have been derived from the architectural engravings of Johann Rudolph Fäsch. The Saxon architect devotes one volume of his book of designs to patterns for monumental doorways (Fig. 72).[282]

280. The set of prints is called, *Collection de quelques ruines de Lisbonne.* It includes the following subjects: *Tour de St. Roch nomée vulgairement Tour du Patriarche, Eglise de St. Paul, La Cathedrale, Salle de l'Opéra, Eglise de St. Nicholas, Place de la Patriarche.* The collection must have enjoyed considerable popularity among those curious to study the effects of the *tremblement de terre.* For in 1759 a Dutch edition appeared. The engravings were signed C. Philips Jacobs Zoon, and were published by Isaak Tirion in his *Hedendaachache Historie of Tegenwoordige staat van Spanje en Portugal.*

281. The documents of the Lisbon patriarchate were removed to the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in 1865.

282. *Grundmässige Anweisung zu Aufreisung der Portale...,* Nuremberg (no date), pl. 31. It is true that the design for the door contains two engaged columns instead of one, and there is no combination of Corinthian columns and Doric frieze, as in the Lisbon monument. The resemblance is, aside from the use of pilasters set at an angle, general rather than particular. In other designs in the book there apppears a combination of Doric frieze with triglyphs and metopes with trophies very similar to those of the Lisbon portal.

Whether Ludovice took the idea of the portal from Fäsch's book or not, he added certain distinctly original elements to the design. These are: the combination of fragments of a Doric frieze of metopes and triglyphs with engaged columns of the Corinthian order in a return to the Renaissance notion of a mixed order;[283] the irregular, curving outline of the doorframe; and the use of a subsidiary lintel separating the opening into two sections. Ludovice has also combined the door with a window above in a single arrangement, and has set the engaged columns and the pilasters against a rusticated *fond*. But the greatest originality of the whole design lies unquestionably in the splendid design and carving of the architectural details, which rival those of the convent at Mafra. The door of S. Domingos serves to indicate what must have been the style of Ludovice's lost work for D. João V in Lisbon, at the royal palace, and in the patriarchal church. It was a rich and colorful style, enlivened by occasional eccentricities of design, personal departures from the more classical of the Baroque canons, and distinguished always by a masterful execution of the elegant decorations which the architect designed with the minute attention of a goldsmith.

The Chapel of S. João Baptista in the Church of S. Roque

The greatest commission of D. João V's reign after Mafra, that of the chapel of S. João Baptista in the church of S. Roque at Lisbon, was not awarded to Ludovice. The king ordered the chapel from a young and as yet little known Roman architect, Luigi Vanvitelli,[284] who was to build it in Rome and send it to be re-erected in Lisbon.

283. Antonio da San Gallo the Elder had combined Ionic columns with a Doric frieze in the windows of S. Biagio at Montepulciano. Such an arrangement Vincenzo Scamozzi illustrates in the *Idea della architettura universale* (Venice, 1615) pl. 84.

284. Luigi Vanvitelli (1700-1770), an outstanding architect of the Italian Settecento. Born at Naples in the first year of the century, he was the son of an Italianate Dutchman, Gaspar van Wittel (Vanvitelli), whose small topographical landscapes in oil and pastel enjoyed a certain popularity with collectors and foreign tourists. Shortly after Luigi's birth his father removed to Rome, where the young Vanvitelli had the opportunity of studying under the architects Juvara and Carlo Fontana.

He began his career with the decoration of the reliquary chapel of S. Cecilia in Rome, a design of elaborate stuccoes and simulated architecture combined with a painted frieze of garland-bearing putti. His first works of architecture were carried out after 1721 in Urbino for Annibale Albani, Cardinale di S. Clemente. Vanvitelli restored the cardinal's palace, decorating the stairs and doorways with fantastic *rocaille* figures in stucco, and constructing an interior court of brick. At S. Domenico in Urbino he built the first of his Neo-Palladian interiors, thus anticipating the classical revival of the reign of Pope Clement XII (the work was finished in 1732). In 1731 he submitted two drawings in the competition for the new façade of the Lateran, that competition which elicited designs from the foremost architects of the time: Salvi, Teodoli, Fuga, Galilei, Canevari, Gregorini, Passalacqua, Rossi, Dotti, and Raguzzini (Fr. Milizia, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 395). Vanvitelli's drawings, which show the influence of Juvara's architecture, were not successful. Alessandro Galilei won the competition, but Vanvitelli was given a papal commission in Ancona.

In 1733 he began his long series of buildings in the Marches with the construction of a Lazzaretto, or pest house, which he designed on a curious pentagonal plan. The *tempietto* in the central court is typical of the classicism of Vanvitelli's early style. Two years later he prolonged the mole of the harbor af Ancona, thus initiating a whole series of engineering accomplishments throughout his carcer. At Ancona he also built a triumphal arch in honor of the Corsini pope, an altar of the Madonna in the cathedral (1738/39), and the church of the Gesù (1743). Meanwhile he was busy in other Marchigian towns, erecting or redecorating buildings in his distinctive Palladian style (the Misericordia at Macerata, 1735-1741); the campanile at Fano, 1739; the church and monastery of the Olivetani in Perugia, 1739-50; the church of S. Francesco at Urbino, 1740; the church of S. Agostino in Ancona; the church of the Maddalena at Pesaro, 1744; the campanile of Loreto, 1751).

During the decade of 1740-1750 Vanvitelli received the patronage of the Lambertini pope, Benedict XIV, who made him the architect of St. Peter's. Vanvitelli strengthened the dome of the basilica and redecorated the tribunes in preparation for the Jubilee of 1750. He rehandled the interior of Michelangelo's church of S. Maria degli Angeli. In 1746 he built the convent of S. Agostino and the new library of

How can we account for D. João V's decision? Had Ludovice lost the royal favor? The explanation probably lies in the fact that for years the king had been importing objects of art from Rome. The fittings for Mafra and the patriarchal church had been ordered one by one in the Eternal City. Agents had scoured Italy for fine materials. D. João's ambassadors had been metamorphosed into veritable art dealers, and their ability to select the best work from a Roman atelier and dispatch it rapidly to Lisbon won them as much favor with the monarch as the most successfully handled diplomacy.[285] By 1742, the year of the Vanvitelli commission, the king was indeed convinced that there was nothing good but came from Rome. Ludovice had been too long away to be abreast of the most recent architectural innovations. Juvara was dead; Antonio Canevari had departed in disgrace. D. João V went therefore to Luigi Vanvitelli, the new architect of St. Peter's, a man who by his very position promised to be among the most orthodox of Roman architects.

Frey Claudio da Conceição tells us that the king, visiting one day the Jesuit church of S. Roque, observed that the chapel of S. João Baptista was not decorated as richly as the others.[286] Resenting this slight to his patron saint, he determined to build a chapel which should outdo in magnificence all the others in Portugal, a chapel so full of bronzes, marbles, lapis, and porphyry as to rival the Gesù itself.[287] Frey Claudio does not state when the king made this vow, but from the correspondence preserved concerning the chapel it appears to have been some time in the year 1742. The then Portuguese ambassador in Rome, D. Manoel Pereira de Sampaio, was chosen to act as Italian agent, while at Lisbon the influential Neapolitan Jesuit, Padre Carbone,[288] was selected to direct the correspondence, and João Frederico Ludovice was named to criticize the projects which the Italian architect would propose. This is proof

the Collegio Romano in Rome. At Frascati he redecorated the Villa Rufinella. He proposed an entirely new rehandling for the Quirinal Fountain.

In 1753 he was called to work for Charles III of Naples. The great achievement of his career, the royal palace at Caserta, a magnificent structure ablaze with colored marbles, derived from Versailles and from the architecture of Juvara, occupied the rest of Vanvitelli's life. He designed the gardens, aqueduct, and subsidiary buildings of Caserta, and worked in the nearby churches (the high altar in the church at Maddaloni Inferiore and the apse of the cathedral of Aversa). In Naples itself, and in the immediate neighborhood, he erected a great number of churches, villas, bridges, and carried on a series of engineering investigations until his death in 1770 (Luigi Vanvitelli, *op. cit.*; Luigi Vanvitelli [Jr.], *op. cit.*; Camillo Napoleone Sassi, *Storia de' monumenti di Napoli*, Naples, 1856; Luigi Sierra, *op. cit.*).

Because of his prolific career and the great commissions he received, Vanvitelli has come to be considered the leader and spokesman of a little group who dominated Italian architecture in the eighteenth century—Ferdinando Fuga, Alessandro Galilei, Niccolò Salvi. Attentive to the success of Palladianism in England, admirers of the sober classic tradition of French architecture, they set about bringing Italian architecture back to the standards of the Renaissance. Their buildings of the 1730's—the heyday of their style—many of which were carried out for Pope Clement XII, mark a return to the sixteenth century forms, they introduced a new spirit of austerity, reserve, and respect for classic laws, which were to prevail in Italy until the Neo-Classic style had taken firm root. These men broke the Baroque tradition.

285. *Cartas de J. C. de Abreu....* One of D. João's special agents was Thadeu Paulo Ludovici Olivieri or Oliveira (Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario*, vol. II, pp. 226-229).

286. *Op. cit.*, vol. XI, p. 39.

287. The materials used in the construction of the chapel are described by Frey Claudio (vol. XI, pp. 42-49), and by Martin Briggs, *St. John's Chapel in the Church of San Roque, Lisbon*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XXVIII, pp. 50-56, 88-93.

288. Giovanni Battista Carbone and Domenico Capace had come together from Naples to Lisbon September 19, 1722 (Pr. F. X. da Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 162). Both were interested in astronomy. Capace soon went on to America, but Carbone remained. His experiments and studies became so celebrated that D. João V built him an especial observatory in the Jesuit college. With his understanding of science he combined a skillful diplomacy, ingratiating himself with the sovereign to such an extent that he was constantly consulted. He accompanied D. João V on the series of journeys to As Caldas da Rainha which began in 1742. Carbone died April 5, 1750, rector of the Jesuit college of S. Antão *(ibid.)*.

enough that the German had not lost his influence at the court. Furthermore, we have additional proof in the documents conferring favors upon him, which culminated in the great patent of 1750. As a matter of fact, before the chapel was actually set up in Lisbon, Ludovice, by his corrections and advice, was as much responsible for the ultimate design as Vanvitelli himself. For this reason the chapel of S. João Baptista must be considered along with the works of Ludovice.

The correspondence between Sampaio in Rome and Carbone in Lisbon, preserved in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, at Belem, has been published by the Portuguese scholars Sousa Viterbo and R. Vicente d'Almeida.[289] The commissions and subsequent communications are so lengthy and detailed that we are able to follow practically every phase of the evolution of the drawings, model, and finally chapel itself.

First comes an order sent October 26, 1742, from Lisbon to Rome, commissioning plans from the best architect then to be found there, and forwarding exterior and interior dimensions of the chapel. The form the disposition of the chapel should take is left to the taste of the architect, who is directed to use the best of marbles both old and new, and fine gilded bronze work, *de sorte que na dita Capella resplande primorosamente o precioso da materia com a bizaria da arte.*[290] There then follow instructions for the paintings to decorate the chapel. For the altar there is to be, appropriately, a Baptism of Christ, in which are to appear the Holy Ghost, St. John the Baptist, and the Holy Virgin as well. On each side, over the lateral doors, there are to be smaller paintings representing the Annunciation of the Divine Word and the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles. This iconography was chosen because the chapel is dedicated to the Holy Ghost as well as to the Baptist. The document then adds that all three paintings are be done by the painter Agostino Masucci,[291] a man of *vasto engenho.* The side doors must be placed in line with the doors opening between the other chapels. The architect is requested to make a separate drawing for the sanctuary of the altar, and finally is warned to prepare several drawings so as to show everything he proposes to do, rendered with the greatest detail and as carefully as possible.[292]

From Rome, December 13, 1742, we learn that Luigi Vanvitelli and Niccolò Salvi[293] have been chosen as the architects of the chapel, and that shortly their designs, as well as those for the paintings will be sent to Lisbon for approval. Although the letter from Sampaio does not say so, it appears from the subsequent correspondence that Vanvitelli was given charge of the construction and that Salvi served merely as his assistant. As Vanvitelli was several times called away during the building of the chapel to work outside of Rome, Salvi was an important part of

289. Sousa Viterbo and R. Vicente d'Almeida, *A capella de S. João Baptista erecta na egreja de S. Roque,* Lisbon, 1900.

290. *Ibid.,* pp. 105-106.

291. Agostino Masucci (1691-1758) was the last disciple of Carlo Maratti, and a painter whose Holy Families, Assumptions, and *Purissimas* especially recommended him to the Iberian taste.

292. Sousa Viterbo and R. Vicente d'Almeida, *loc. cit.*

293. Niccolò Salvi (1699-1751), a pupil of Antonio Canevari in Rome, worked again with Vanvitelli on the enlarging of Bernini's Chigi-Odescalchi palace in 1745. They had both competed unsuccessfully in the Lateran façade competition. Vanvitelli was afterward given his commissions in Ancona, while Salvi remained at Rome to built Fountain of Trevi (1732), his only important work. It appears that he had nothing to do with the actual design of the Lisbon chapel, his rôle being merely that of supervisor of the work. Milizia, who does not disguise his admiration for Salvi, fails to include the chapel in his list of the architect's works (*op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 251).

the arrangement. We are to look upon the design embodied in the drawings as entirely Vanvitelli's.

In the Museo di San Martino, at Naples, there are four drawings for the chapel of S. João Baptista, done on two sheets of paper and signed by Luigi Vanvitelli, labeled *Cappella del Re di Portogallo.* They follow so closely the description contained in the Lisbon document that there can be no doubt that they are the drawings in question, or at least copies (Figs. 74 and 75).

To one who has studied Vanvitelli's previous work these drawings come as a surprise. To be sure, one recognizes the "Palladian order," with its high base, unchanneled columns, and sober entablature, which Vanvitelli, and his contemporaries Fuga and Galilei often used. The elegant coffered vaulting, broken by banded decorations, is also familiar. But Vanvitelli had never before permitted himself so Berninesque a caprice as the oval altarpiece supported by angels in full flight.[294] And the elaborate decoration of the small door at the side of the chapel, with its cherub's head and trailing garlands, is quite different from the sober profiles of his earlier work. One might suppose that Vanvitelli had introduced such details as these to satisfy the opulent tastes of the Portuguese king. But the truth is that the architect was changing his style. The S. João Baptista drawings are the first indication of that new richness of decoration which was to be the characteristic feature of Vanvitelli's later work at Naples.

Ludovice's criticism of these drawings is contained in a *parecer* written February 6, 1743, which was forwarded to Rome three days later.[295] He said that he found the chapel undignified. The official style which he had evolved from the sober aspects of the seventeenth century could not accept Vanvitelli's innovations.

The first criticism is that the order is not complete. It will be noticed in the drawing of the elevation of the chapel (Fig. 74) that the entablature lacks a frieze. This is condemned as being unsuited to any places save "arcades of porticoes, corridors, stairs, and underground places where height is lacking or where economy is necessary." In Rome the Capella Cibò and the church of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane have the full entablature, it is argued, so why should not this royal chapel have as much?

The oval form of the altarpiece is then censured. Ludovice felt its eccentric shape would attract attention away from the painting it was to contain. It is seen to interfere with the order of the chapel and seems quite unsuited to so dignified a place: "although there are examples of altar panels of oval shape, they are not to be found in great and dignified buildings, but in small chapels like *Santo Izidoro* and *São Lourenço em Lucena.*"[296]

Ludovice states that the royal arms of Portugal should not be used as mosaic decoration on the pavement of the chapel. He thinks it improper to depict upon

294. The walls of the interior of the small church of the Misericordia at Macerata, built by Vanvitelli in 1738, had been decorated with oval panels of colored marbles somewhat similar in form to the altarpiece. The oval picture frame of the drawing closely resembles that of Bernini's altar in the church of Castel Gandolfo (1661).

295. Sousa Viterbo and R. Vicente d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-111.

296. Ludovice here refers to the Roman church of S. Isidoro a Capo de Case, built in the seventeenth century by Felice Antonio Casoni, and the chapel of the Fonseca family in the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, decorated by Bernini.

the floor the *cinco quinas*,[297] the five of dice emblem, whose connections with the five wounds of Our Lord were thought at the time to be so evident. He recommended that the arms of Portugal be placed over the arch on the exterior of the chapel, but without the mantle which Vanvitelli had proposed. That would be too bulky, Ludovice thought, and would obscure the window above the arch. It is further advised that the arms be supported by angels rather than by the too secular looking genii of the drawing.

In the ground plan of the chapel (Fig. 75) the altar appears slightly detached from the wall. The document criticizes this disposition on the grounds that it will take up room so necessary on the occasion of great ceremonies, when the clergy officiating in the chapel is augmented. The architect is reminded that although St. Carlo Borromeo, in his *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*,[298] prescribes that the high altar be separated from the apsidal wall, he makes no such provision in regard to the altars of minor chapels, like this of S. João Baptista. Then there follows a paragraph devoted to minute instructions for the dimensions of the columns.

The document next returns to the subject of the altar. It is not to be separated from the rear wall of the chapel and provision is to be made for the exposition of the sacrament. This matter is discussed at length. The form of the new altar to replace the oval one of the drawing is left to the taste of the architect, but it is specified that it be in line with the main pedestal course of the chapel itself.

The criticisms of the drawings were duly forwarded to Sampaio in Rome, on February 8, 1743, two days after they had been drawn up. Carbone evidently thought them too severe and likely to offend the Roman architect (as indeed they did), and to justify the tone and the minuteness of the document he reminds Sampaio of D. João's desire for perfection in the undertaking;[299] though whether Vanvitelli and Salvi could accept the opinions of Ludovice as perfection is very doubtful. Carbone goes on to say that it has been decided to have Masucci's paintings carried out in mosaic, and concludes with an injunction to come to a settlement over the price of the work, reminding Sampaio that D. João V in paying for the undertaking wanted no unnecessary expenses.

The letter is acknowledged in a reply from Rome dated April 7, 1743. The architect accepts the corrections and will obey the instructions. Work has already begun on a wood model of the chapel, and the painter is likewise at work on the pictures and is already preparing to transform them into mosaics.

On the seventh of July the Romans drew up a formal reply to the intructions of the sixth of February.[300] It agrees to accept all the corrections, and likewise to make use of a frieze and an altar of architectural form, and also to *eliminate the capitals outside the chapel, the two angels on pedestals, and the projecting balustrades*. These features, all of which are seen in the drawings (Figs. 74 and 75), are not mentioned in the document of the sixth of February. We must suppose that there

297. There is no evidence that the *quinas* were originally intended to represent the wounds of Christ. Certainly they never had the realistic significance of the *chagas* in the arms of the Portuguese Third Order.

298. *Idque propterea, ubi sit, si a tergo cappellae extrinsecus situs est ubi illius spatium produci possit, usque adeo producatur ut tantum spatii cappellae detur, quantum supra praemonstratum est* (*Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, Milan, 1843, vol. I, p. 629).

299. Sousa Viterbo and R. Vicente d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

300. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

had been other critiques not represented in the papers now at Belem. It is added that the arrangements are all about to be carried out, and it is proposed to add lunettes to the vault of the chapel.

Another letter from Rome, dated the thirty-first of August,[301] states that the chapel is actually being erected, and that His Holiness, Pope Benedict XIV, has expressed the desire to see it before it is sent off to Portugal. This letter was followed by two others assuring Carbone of the progress of the work.[302]

Finally, a new series of instructions, more detailed than before, was despatched from Portugal March 4, 1744. The most interesting features of this communication are the injunction that the frieze and the royal arms be carried out in bronze, and the proposal of a design for the new altar having above it the cross adored by two angels and behind this composition a glory of gilded rays. It is further recommended that these angels be represented holding palms, rose chaplets, and laurel leaves in token of St. John's martyrdom and glorification.

All these directions proved too much for Luigi Vanvitelli. On the twelfth of April we find Sampaio writing very guardedly that the drawings and instructions had been received, but that the architects considered them rather as evidence of a love of making lengthy discourses than as proper architectural judgments. He assures Carbone that the work will be one of the wonders of Europe, and that the Roman architects are distinctly better than any there may be in Lisbon, "because in short we are in Rome, where considerations of this sort are more common than in Lisbon, for here the architects are greater, both in their number and in their skill."[303]

But matters did not stop here. We have a letter sent from Lisbon on the twenty-first of May, in which Carbone relates that he has received a letter written in very bad Portuguese of "an author who is not Portuguese and has never properly studied the same language." He adds that the writer of the letter was offended by the repeated criticism and suggestions, especially those of the fourth of March.[304] One is tempted to see Vanvitelli himself in the writer of bad Portuguese. The whole matter was to be brought to His Majesty's attention. Several letters continue the affair, speaking of translations of the Portuguese criticisms into Italian with the suppression of certain offensive words. His Majesty orders that the replies from Rome be assembled and presented to Ludovice in Lisbon.

Meanwhile work is progressing on the chapel. In June Sampaio predicts that the work will be finished by December. On the fifteenth of that month Pope Benedict XIV solemnly consecrated the altar of the chapel at a ceremony in Sant' Antonio de' Portoghesi that lasted three hours.[305]

The work on the chapel, however, is prolonged into 1745. It appears that complications arose over accounts and the prices paid for materials. There are accusations from Lisbon and protests from Rome. Masucci is ill of consumption and cannot paint

301. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

302. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

303. *Ibid.*, p. 136. Luigi Vanvitelli seems later to have worked for the Portuguese ambassador, constructing the Capella Sampaio in the left transept of S. Antonio de' Portoghesi at Rome (see Antonio Nibby, *Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, Roma, 1839, vol. I, p. 104, and Costanza Gradara, *Pietro Bracci scultore romano 1700-1773*, Milan, no date, p. 85). I have discussed the problem in my manuscript, *The Minor Architecture of Luigi Vanvitelli*.

304. Sousa Viterbo and R. Vicente d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

305. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

the pictures. Sampaio proposes that the work be given to Conca, Battoni and Corrado, but His Majesty is willing to make the change only in the event of Masucci's death.

Sampaio accuses Vanvitelli of writing a libel against him before the architect left for Milan,[306] and circulating it with the Jesuits in Lisbon, but Carbone hastens to protest that no such document has appeared at the Portuguese Court. The letters clearly indicate that affairs became strained in Lisbon and at Rome.

This correspondence between Sampaio and Carbone stops with the acknowledgment from Rome of the arrival of 5000 *escudos* on December 25, 1745.[307] It is not resumed until two years later. On January 18, 1747, Sampaio writes that the work is almost finished, and that the chapel will be taken down and shipped to Portugal on the arrival at Civitavecchia of three Venetian vessels, about the eighth of March.[308] But a month goes by, and the ships have not yet reached the port. The pope proposes to visit the chapel on the twenty-third of April. By the twenty-fourth of August the ships have not arrived in Lisbon, and Carbone is apprechensive.[309] Finally, on September first they were there.[310]

The chapel was accompanied by a sizable corps of Italians to supervise the installation. The superintendent was Francesco Feliziani, the paymaster Paolo Niccoli, Alessandro Giusti[311] the sculptor, Gaetano Grassi the goldsmith, Giacomo Fazzi a metal worker, and Gregorio Milani and Francesco Carabelli stone cutters.

Work began in November, and by December the foundations were laid. A year later the work was nearly completed.[312] Yet there remained the question of the mosaics. Only in 1752 was the contract made for the mosaicist, Domenico Bossoni, and the engineer, Giovanni Corsini, to come to Lisbon and put in place the mosaics of the altarpiece, the panels over the doors, and in the pavement.[313] There is no record of when the undertaking was finally completed. Meanwhile, D. João V had died July 31, 1750, before the chapel of his patron saint had been finished.

The wood model of the chapel by Giuseppe Palms (Fig. 76), which is now in the Museu de S. Roque at Lisbon, had preceded the chapel by a few months.[314] The changes that Ludovice had ordered have all been effected. The exterior capitals, the angels holding candalabra, have disappeared; the balustrade is now rectilinear. The royal arms now surmount the arch, and the armillary sphere, the symbol of Portuguese discoveries, which had been assigned that place in the drawing (Fig. 75) has now been transferred to the floor of the chapel. The entablature is enriched by a frieze elaborately decorated with garlands, which are prolonged above the new altarpiece. The composition of the cross is arranged as Ludovice wanted it, above the altar. In addition, there are several innovations not mentioned in the letters.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 147. Vanvitelli was going to Milan to prepare a new design for the façade of the cathedral which of course was never carried out. The drawing which is preserved in the Amministrazione del Duomo at Milan, is one of the first Italian experiments in the Neo-Gothic style.

307. *Ibid.*

308. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

309. *Ibid.*

310. *Idid.*, p. 15.

311. Alessandro Giusti, a Roman sculptor (1715-1799), the pupil of Sebastiano Conca and G. B. Maini, worked at the palace of the Necessidades in Lisbon and at the convent of Mafra, where he organized a school to teach Portuguese sculptors the eighteenth century Italian style, a school which long took the place of an official academy (C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, p. 262).

312. Sousa Viterbo and R. Vicente d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

313. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

314. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

FIG. 76—*Chapel of S. João Baptista*
(*Model in Museu de S. Roque, Lisbon*)

FIG. 77—*Lisbon, Church of S. Roque:*
Chapel of S. João Baptista

FIG. 78—*Lisbon, Ludovice Palace: Exterior*

FIG. 79—*Lisbon, Ludovice Palace: Detail of Façade*

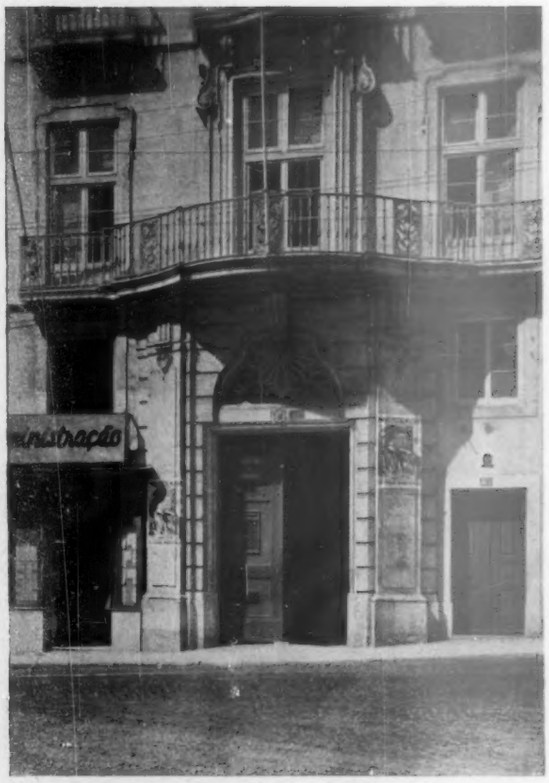

FIG. 80—*Lisbon, Ludovice Palace: Main Door*

FIG. 81—*Lisbon, Almeida Palace: Main Door*

The arch of the chapel breaks into two graceful volutes, there are four columns at the sides of the altar instead of two, and they are richly channeled. Finally, a population of small *putti* has come to rest upon the vault.

The chapel as it was erected in S. Roque differs in only one small detail from the model that had preceded it. Two twisted volutes were added to connect the balustrades with the piers of the aisle into which the chapel had been fitted. The paintings prepared for the chapel by Agostino Masucci had been translated into mosaics to conform with the richness of the whole interior (Fig. 77).

The completed chapel seems distinctly inferior in design to the drawings. The addition of the angels, cross, and glory above the altar clutter the space and cheapen the effect. The frieze in particular, with its elaborate bronze motif, a thing Vanvitelli never used, even in his most grandiose creations, smacks of second-rate Italian work of the period, of the ostentatious arrangements of the cathedrals of Brescia and Bologna.[315] The marble *putti* climbing about the vault, and the elaborate channeling of the columns heighten the confused and stuffy effect. The altar, with its receding columns and architectural frame, is little more than an inferior imitation of the arrangement of the Cappella Cibò in Rome, just as its Marattesque mosaic is inferior to the real Maratti in the Roman chapel. The graceful oval frame and the sarcophagus altar of the drawings would have provided that impression of lightness which the finished chapel so definitely lacks.

Particularly inferior is the present exterior of the chapel. We miss the graceful pilasters with composite capitals that would have revealed and accented so well the order within, and the elegant curving balustrades and the torchbearing angels that fill so important a place in the drawings. Of course there is something to be said against breaking the exterior unity of the rows of chapels by a protruding balustrade and by pilasters unrelated to the system of the aisle arcade. But the other chapels are so mediocre that it seems unnecessary to curtail a fine original design for the sake of harmony with such inferior output.

The building of the chapel of S. João Baptista was one of the most picturesque accomplishments of the eighteenth century. The pope, the Bragança court, the Portuguese Jesuits, many of the foremost artists of Rome, were in one way or another directly interested in it. It was built, taken down, and transported over the Mediterranean, and set up again. It was the talk of the age, and miraculously escaped the earthquake of 1755.

For such reasons Ludovice evidently resented all the more the fact that the commission had not gone to him. The *mesquinerie* and spiteful tone of his criticisms are proof of a desire to spoil the design. We know from Francisco Vieira de Matos how jealous Ludovice was of any rivals.

Yet he should have welcomed this unique opportunity of having in Lisbon a contemporary Roman building for comparison with his own work. Even had the chapel of S. João Baptista been built as Vanvitelli had intended it to be, the interior of Mafra would not have suffered by comparison. The great tradition of Roman architecture formed in the seventeenth century went on with few modifications

315. The cathedral of Brescia was begun by G. B. Lantani in 1604, and that of Bologna a year later, on designs by Floriano Ambrosini and Padre Magenta.

through the eighteenth. What Ludovice had learned in Rome in 1700 held true a half century later. Luigi Vanvitelli had nothing new to offer superior to that sense of good proportion, that feeling for the fitness of material, and that elegant attention to architectural detail which the German Ludovice possessed to so extraordinary a degree.

The Palace of the Calçada da Gloria

In 1747 Ludovice completed his palace of the Calçada da Gloria in Lisbon, a building which represents a new style of palace architecture in the Portuguese capital.[316] Like the nearby Jesuit church of S. Roque the structure escaped miraculously the earthquake of 1755. After the death of the architect in 1752 it passed out of the hands of his descendants. In 1810 it was occupied by the Officena da Impressão da Bulla,[317] and in 1830 it was being used as a police headquarters.[318]

In the course of the nineteenth century the palace was transformed into an office building. The great suites of apartments were stripped of their decorations and divided into offices. Shops were opened in the ground floor and the original lines of the building were destroyed by the opening of new windows and doors.

Like the *ermida* of Ludovice at Bemfica the Lisbon palace is built of plaster with revetments of a fine *pedra lioz* (Fig. 78). The plan of the building is of no particular distinction. The rectangular form of the ground plan is repeated throughout the five and a half stories. There is a central staircase, now completely mutilated, connecting the various floors. The center of the façade is marked off by simple pilaster strips, and the frames of the subordinate windows are as plain as those of the house in Bemfica. The consoles beneath the cornice (Fig. 79) resemble those of the main façade of Mafra and of the building represented in the LeBas engraving (Fig. 73).

The principal element of the design is the great doorway (Fig. 80) surmounted by two handsome windows. This is essentially the same combination which Ludovice used in the portal at S. Domingos. But now another window (Fig. 79) has been added to the scheme, and the lines of enframements and volutes are even more closely knit. The graceful sculptures about the archivolt of the upper window recall the fine trophies at S. Domingos (Fig. 71).

The most striking analogy exists between the two doors themselves. In the door of his own palace Ludovice has eliminated the engaged order; there are no columns with splendidly carved capitals; but the other elements are there. We have the same use of pilasters superposed at an angle upon rustications, the same curious outline of the lintel, and the same dividing member in the doorway (here ornamented by a small rosette instead of the *cartouche*). There is the same prominent console supporting the balcony, and the identical triglyphs. Their position, however, is different,

316. ***O architecto apenas quiz construir uma casa nobre, mas deu-lhe proporcões tão boas e grandiosas, e tanta nobreza no partal e nos andares superiores, que bem as desejariam e precisavam para si quasi todos os palacios de Lisboa*** (I. de Vilhena Barbosa, *Elogio historico do architecto João Frederico Ludovici. Estudos historicos e archeologicos,* Oporto-Braga, 1875, vol. II, p. 19).

317. *Gazeta de Lisboa,* July 4, 1810.

318. Julio de Castilho, *Lisboa Antiga,* Coimbra, 1884, vol. IV, p. 8.

for instead of forming fragments of a frieze, they are more bizarrely used as capitals for the pilasters themselves.

The door of the Ludovice palace, though it depends entirely upon that at S. Domingos, is a simplification of the design. It is this form that seems to be repeated in the doors of the palace in the Campo de S. Clara built for D. Thomas d'Almeida (Fig. 81) and, to a lesser degree, in that of the palace at S. Mamede, a Frenchified building of the mid-century.

It is impossible to realize the position which the Ludovice palace occupies among the building of this type in Lisbon without reviewing the other palaces of the period. The high, many-storied, formal Italianate façade is entirely different from the low, informal town residences of the Portuguese nobility.

In the early eighteenth century, two principal types of palaces prevailed. Both seem to have been derived from French models. The first type evolved from the seventeenth century. The great palace of the family of Mello de Castro, the Condes das Galveias, at Campo Pequeno,[319] is a fine example of these buildings, which were essentially a simplification of the French palaces of the Luxembourg type (Fig. 86). The central *corps de bâtiment* is set between two projecting wings which form a *cour d'honneur*. A screen wall with a monumental gate separates the court from the street. This arrangement seems to have enjoyed a considerable vogue with seventeenth century builders.

The Palacio de Palhavã is another example of the type. Its rusticated gateway is a closer approximation to that of the Luxembourg in Paris.[320]

The finest eighteenth century instance of this type of building is the Palacio da Mitra, built for the patriarch, D. Thomaz d'Almeida, in the district known as Xabregas (Fig. 83).[321] There is little to distinguish the palace from its predecessors. It has the same type of flat-headed elongated windows which survived from the seventeenth century. The wall is almost a repetition of that of the Mello de Castro palace with its rather meagre portal and the two barred windows.

Another and far more numerous type of palace seems to have grown from the *hôtels* of the French *Régence*. These were generally built in two stories with a portion, either in the center or at one side, marked off by pilaster strips and surmounted by a triangular pediment. The windows of this section were generally given some special accent. Magnificent arms, coronets, and garlands were sculptured into the frontispiece, and wrought iron balconies, often of fine Louis XV design, enlivened the façade. There is generally a central court with an imposing interior portal. The effect of the long low exteriors is one of informality. The use of gayly colored plasters and the marked abstention from the architectural orders heighten this impression.

An anonymous writer of 1730 remarks upon the constant use of the *pedra lioz: On y voit de beaux Palais et généralement parlant toutes les maisons de Lisbonne sont*

319. Now the Museu Municipal de Lisboa.

320. This is the celebrated palace built in 1660 by the Conde de Sarzelas. In the reign of D. João V it housed the royal bastards his sons, D. Antonio, D. Gaspar, and D. José, the so called *Meninos de Palhavã*. Later it was owned by the Marquez de Lavradio and the Condes de Azambuja. At present it serves as the Spanish Embassy.

321. Sometimes referred to as the Quinta de Marvilla, because it occupies the site of a pleasure house of that name which had belonged to the archbishop of Lisbon, D. Luiz de Sousa.

assez jolies. Celles du premier ordre sont bâties de belles pierres de taille, et quelques-unes d'une sorte de pierre quasi marbre: mais, qui, à dire le vrai, est très défectueux, étant rempli de crévasses qu'on est obligé de boucher avec du mortre.[322]

In the parts of the city which the Lisbon earthquake spared, a great number of these palaces have survived. Among the finest is the one which the Marquez de Abrantes built at Santos after his triumphant return from the court of Clement XI.[323]

A palace which follows this type (with the accented portion at one end of the main façade) is the great house of the architect Larre at S. Sebastião da Pedreira.[324] This section is shifted to the center of the structure at the palace of the Almeida family in the Campo de S. Clara, a building which dates from the 1740's (Fig. 82),[325] the beautiful Palacio Galvão Mexia at Campo Grande,[326] and that now owned by the Condes de Pôrto Covo da Bandeira, in the Rua de S. Domingos a Lapa, which has a small chapel at one end of its long façade. Another example of the same category is the palace of the Condes da Ribeira Grande, in the Junqueira (Fig 84). Here the proportions are unusually low, the doors and windows are dwarfed, and appear crushed beneath the weight of balustrades and roof. It is interesting to observe here the appearance of that type of filigree balustrade which Ludovice had used at Mafra.

Another group of palaces, among the most attractive to be found in Lisbon, are those built in imitation of the country houses of the north of Portugal.[327] The style is distinguished by steep tiled roofs often breaking into arched and triangular pedimental forms, by a fondness for expanses of many-paned windows and doors, and by frequent balconies and terraces. Certainly the most splendid of these houses which have survived in Lisbon is that which was built in 1730 for Principal Lazaro Leitão Aranha,[328] in the Junqueira, and is now owned by the Visconde do Marco. Particularly fine is the combination of elegantly proportioned windows on the main façade (Fig. 85).

This, then, was the state of domestic architecture in Lisbon when João Frederico Ludovice built his palace of the Calçada da Gloria. It is possible that among the

322. *Description de la ville de Lisbonne en 1730, où l'on traite de la cour, de Portugal, de la langue portugaise, et des moeurs des habitants; du gouvernement, des revenus du roi, et de ses forces par mer et par terre; des colonies portugaises, et du commerce de cette capitale*, Paris, 1730, p. 9. Another description of these palaces is contained in the *Voyage en Portugal en 1796* (Paris, 1796), p. 33: *On croirait.... trouver à Lisbonne beaucoup de ces édifices, imposants par leur masse, frappants par la regularité de leur architecture, agréables par la variété de leurs ornements. On y cherche des colonnes, des corniches, des peristyles, des portiques, des frises, des architraves, des urnes, des statues, des marbres, mais on les cherche vainement. Les édifices qu'on décore du nom de palais sont des maisons très ordinaires, d'une apparence fort médiocre, construites sans regularité, sans élégance, sans ornements, à peine digne d'être habitées par un particulier médiocrement riche. Les armoiries des propriétaires sont la seule chose qui les distingue, le seul ornement qu'on y aperçoive.*

323. It is really built on the site of D. Manoel's old palace of Santos, and commands a fine view of the whole *ribeira*. In 1840 it was occupied by the widowed empress of Brazil, D. Amelia de Bragança. In 1853 Infanta D. Anna de Jesus Maria, Duqueza de Loule, made the palace her home. It now houses the French Legation. The marquis had received his title for the success he had in negotiating with the pope the creation of the Lisbon patriarchate.

324. C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

325. The palace is now the home of the Tribunais Militares.

326. It is said to have been erected by D. João V for one of his mistresses, Madre Paula of the convent of Odivellas. It is now owned by Senhor Jorge Lobo de Avila Graça.

327. Among the outstanding examples are those of Mateus, near Vila Real de Traz-os-Montes, Refões and Gloria near Ponte-de-Lima, Senra at Ribeira de Pena (Traz-os-Montes), and Palmeira, near Braga.

328. He founded a celebrated retreat for impoverished widows of Portuguese noblemen (Frey Claudio da Conceição, *op. cit.*, vol. X, pp. 172-173).

FIG. 82—*Lisbon, Almeida Palace: Side Façade*

FIG. 83—*Xabregas, Palacio da Mitra: Entrance Gate*

FIG. 84—*Lisbon, Palace of the Condes da Ribeira Grande: Main Façade*

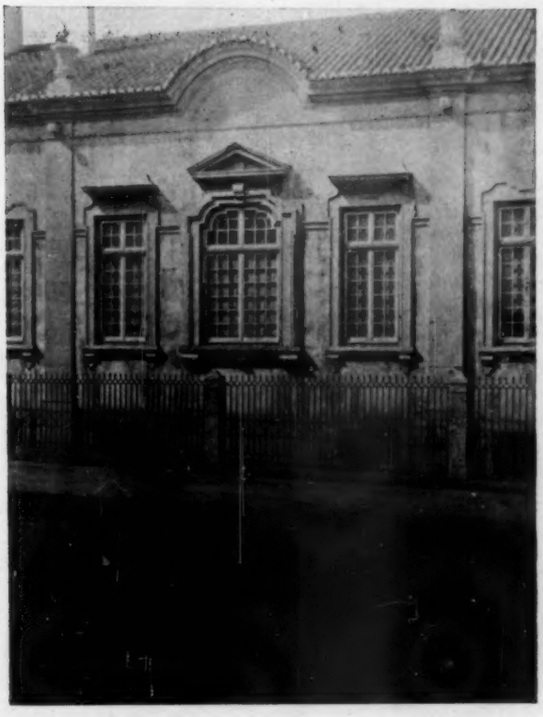

FIG. 85—*Lisbon, House of Principal Aranha: Detail of Façade*

FIG. 86—*Lisbon, Palace of the Condes das Galveias*

FIG. 87—*Lisbon, Church of S. Domingos: Interior*

buildings destroyed in the earthquake of 1755, those rich abodes of the Marquezes de Valença, and the Condes de Vimieiro and Vila Franca,[329] there were palaces of the Italianate type. Nothing of the sort has survived.

We may therefore justly claim for Ludovice the distinction of having introduced into Portugal the eighteenth century type of Italian palace,[330] just as Filippo Juvara brought it to Spain.[331] But, unlike Juvara, Ludovice modified the Italian pattern by introducing in his palace Portuguese characteristics in the materials used and in the slightly pitched tile roof, a provincial detail tending to decrease the formality of the design.

The influence of Ludovice's palace was negligible. Only the residence of the Duques de Palmella, in the Rua da Escola Politecnica, betrays that the architects of the second half of the century knew the monument. But Manoel Caetano de Sousa[332] built the palace in a frigid, Neo-Classic style of architecture which already reflects an entirely different taste.

The *Capella-mór* of the Church of S. Domingos

The church of the Dominicans at Lisbon had always been one of the largest and most magnificent temples in the city. During the eighteenth century it enjoyed the special distinction of being the seat of the Inquisition. Before it, in the great square of the Rocio, were enacted those interminable *autos-da-fé* which D. João V delighted to witness.[333]

The original church had been founded in February, 1242. Shaken by an earthquake January 26, 1531, it had been rebuilt in 1566.[334] Redecorated in the eighteenth century, the nave was entirely destroyed in the catastrophe of November 1, 1755. Only the *capella-mór* survived the great earthquake. We have a description of the interior of the church in 1715 by the author of *Les délices de l'Espagne et du Portugal:*

L'Eglise des Dominiquains passe pour être la plus belle et la plus magnifique de toutes. On y remarque trois Chapelles, toutes brillantes de dorure, depuis le pave jusqu'à la Voûte; dans l'une on voit la geneologie de St. Dominique de même. Dans celle du milieu l'on voit un beau Crucifix en relief.... Cette chapelle est éclairée perpetuellement par six cierges de cire blanche, et par un grand nombre de lampes d'argent; on voit sur le portail les noms et les têtes de tous ceux qui ont été brulez par ordre de l' Inquisition.[335] The *Mappa de Portugal* praises the two great libraries of the adjacent Dominican convent.

329. See J. de Castilho, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 83.

330. The smaller, private family type of palace. The type of royal palace erected in Italy during the eighteenth century was introduced by F. X. Fabri (d. 1807), who reproduced at the palace of Ajuda in Belem (1795) the façade of Caserta which Vanvitelli had originally designed. The monument was repeated with slight variations for Luiz Pereira Velho de Muscoso at Brejoeira, near Monsão (1806-1828).

331. Principally in his designs for the royal palace of Madrid (1735-1736). See O. Schubert, *op. cit.*, figs. 205, 206, 207.

332. Manoel Caetano de Sousa (1738-1802), son of the Caetano Thomaz de Sousa who built the Necessidades, represents the third generation of eighteenth century architects at Lisbon. He succeeded Matheus Vicente de Oliveira as Architecto do Infantado, and Reynaldo Manuel as Architecto das Obras Publicas. In Lisbon he built the church of the Encarnação, which had been destroyed in the earthquake, the royal chapel of Bemposta, the interior of which is very similar to his *rocaille* library at Mafra, and the bell tower of the royal palace of Ajuda (C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, p. 222; and Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario*, vol. I, pp. 150-153).

333. M. F. de Barros, Visconde de Santarem, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. cclxxxv, note 1.

334. J. Ribeiro Guimarães, *Summario de varia historia*, Lisbon, 1872, vol. IV, pp. 137 ff.

335. D. J. A. de Colmenar, *Les délices....*, vol. V, p. 754.

In the year 1724 the interior of the church was redecorated, "On the initiative of Frey Antonio do Sacramento the whole body of the church was modernized, and the chapels were made uniform."[336] There is no mention here of the *capella-mór,* but it is to be presumed that it likewise was redecorated. Frey Lucas de S. Catharina dismisses the *capella-mór* with only the mention of six windows and a lofty vault.[337]

It was not until 1748 that Ludovice was called in to rebuild the whole east end of the church. "Finally in the year 1748 the *capella-mór* was erected in excellent stone from the designs and plan of the famous João Federico Ludovice."[338] The work, which cost more than 100,000 *cruzados,* was financed by D. João V.[339] That collaboration which had begun in Evora between Ludovice and João Antonio Bellini de Padua was continued here, for the sculptor was commissioned to execute the figures over the high altar.[340] The details of the construction are not known. The papers belonging to the suppressed Ordem de S. Domingos at the Torre do Tombo contain no contracts or other information related to the *capella-mór.* Although the earthquake spared the monument itself,[341] it seems to have destroyed all traces of its documentary history.[342]

The exterior of the *capella-mór* of S. Domingos is devoid of monumentality.[343] Ludovice here again used that simple Portuguese combination of plaster covered walls and revetments of stone at the angles.

The interior is entirely covered with rich marbles in a design like those we have seen in the monuments at Mafra and Evora. There is a large, screenlike altar which cuts the *capella-mór* in half, making it seem, to one entering, too broad in proportion to its height. The impression of a lack of scale and balance in the room is heightened by the sculptures of the altar. Indeed Ludovice's design is entirely spoiled by these monstrosities (Fig. 87). The three magnificent columns of black marble with splendidly cut capitals on either side of the altar, the columns of the irregular side walls, the well-proportioned entablature, the broken-arch pediment reminiscent of the arrangement above the tribunes at Evora, and the pendant medallions of the reigning sovereigns are all obscured by these sculptures. Ludovice's collaborator set upon the high altar a writhing glory of life-sized angels and seraphim.[344] More ill-proportioned compositions, more inane expressions, or more miserable carving of the marble would be difficult to find. The statues of St. Francis and St. Dominic have the tactile values of stiff cardboard. There is a perfect contrast between the decorative carvings which Ludovice designed and supervised at Mafra and the statues of this feeble and outmoded Italian craftsman, João Antonio de Padua.

Yet the *capella-mór* of S. Domingos enjoys a special distinction among the churches of Lisbon. In it Ludovice officially recognized, as it were, the type of high altar prevalent in Lisbon in the early eighteenth century. Instead of a painting or a sculptured relief for decoration there was only a deep niche. Within this recess a wooden structure in many graduated stages was erected. On days of celebration the

336. J. B de Castro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 314.
337. Frey Lucas de S. Catharina, *Historia de S. Domingos,* Lisbon, 1866, vol. V, p. 29.
338. *Ibid.*
339. J. B. de Castro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 311.
340. *Ibid.*
341. *Ibid.*, and C. V. Machado, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
342. The church was redone in a pompous, unsatisfactory style by Carlos Mardel.
343. Dimensions: 19 m. high, 55 m. broad, and 12.65 m. long.
344. J. R. Guimarães, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 156-157.

curtains of the niche were drawn open, revealing this whole *throno,* elaborately decorated with flowers, in a blaze of lighted candles. On the topmost stage a statue or monstrance was placed, according to the occasion, the culmination of the whole elaborate scheme.

At S. Domingos Ludovice set this *throno* in an architectural frame, exactly as Bernini in his Roman chapels had made stages for sculptured actors.

When the churches of Lisbon were rebuilt after the earthquake of 1755, the Ludovice altarpiece was repeated over and over. Two fine examples of this influence are to be found in the churches of the Chiado, N. S. dos Martires, built by Reynaldo Manoel in 1769-1784,[345] and N. S. da Encarnação, a work of Manoel Caetano de Sousa. Other altars of the type occur in the churches of S. Francisco de Paulo,[346] S. Izabel,[347] Sacramento,[348] S. Paulo,[349] and S. Nicolau.[350] The case of the altarpiece of S. Domingos is typical of the influence which Ludovice exercised in one way or another upon subsequent eighteenth century architecture in Portugal.

Conclusion

With the year 1748 we conclude our study of the authenticated works of the architect João Frederico Ludovice. He was probably active upon his commissions at the Paços da Ribeira until his death in 1752. But we have no record of his having undertaken any new building after the completion of the work at S. Domingos.

Since his coming to Lisbon in 1701, Ludovice had revolutionized Portuguese architecture. At Mafra, at Evora, and in his work at Lisbon, he had demonstrated the qualities of good architecture, and his work bore fruit throughout the century.

We have seen that his style was largely derivative. Principally he imitated the Roman architects of the Seicento. The convent of Mafra shows how closely Ludovice had studied the works of Bernini, Maderno, and Borromini. We have noticed resemblances at Mafra and in the patriarchal door to the published designs of German theorists of the time.

Yet he was able skillfully to combine his borrowings in new and successful arrangements. His work shows throughout a sense of fitness and a feeling for the general harmony of a whole design. The simplicity of his country house is contrasted with the rich elaboration of his buildings for the king. The elegant decorative portions of his work, outstanding even in an age when special care was universally lavished upon the adjuncts of architecture, seldom intrude upon the design of the whole.

345. Reynaldo Manoel was an architect and sculptor who had studied under Alessandro Giusti. Volkmar Machado says that he died in 1789 or 1790 (*op. cit.*, p. 201). As a sculptor he worked with Joaquim Machado de Castro, designing the base of the equestrian statue of D. José I (1775). He also worked on the fountain of Janelas Verdes. He was awarded the title of Architecto das Obras Publicas, finishing the basilica da Estrêla and rebuilding the church of the Martires, which had been destroyed in the earthquake of 1755.

346. The church in which D. José's queen, D. Maria Ana Vitoria de Borbón, is buried. The interior was designed by Inacio de Oliveira Bernardes.

347. A church begun in the reign of D. João V with funds of the patriarch, but not completed until the 1780's.

348. A church whose original façade, designed by Manoel da Costa Negreiros, Architecto da Casa do Infantado, was destroyed in the earthquake. The whole building was stupidly rebuilt.

349. A late eighteenth century church containing sculpture by Antonio Machado, one of the last of the Giusti tradition.

350. Also a work of Reynaldo Manoel.

Although by training a goldsmith, he was capable of working successfully upon a grand scale. Although a foreigner, he knew how to incorporate certain characteristics of Portuguese architecture—the method of construction and the style of roofing—with his own work, thereby harmonizing his predominately Italianate designs with local constructions. There is a distinctly *Portuguese* element in all his existing buildings.

It is a difficult task to evaluate Ludovice's work, to determine his rank and importance as an architect. His style was hybrid; he belongs entirely to no school. His work shows the influence of his triply changed *milieu*. Had he remained in Italy, he would probably have become the peer of Vanvitelli, Salvi, and Fuga. As it is, his work is a phenomenon in the eighteenth century.

Nor is it easy to single out Ludovice's faults as an architect. We have remarked in his interiors a tendency to elongated forms, a tendency to exaggerate height in proportion to breadth. But elongation was a favorite device for conveying the impression of elegance in the eighteenth century. If we condemn Ludovice for this we must condemn architects working all over Europe at the time.

We look in vain for provincial traits in the architect's work. Such liberties as he took with the Doric frieze were not inspired by ignorance but by a desire for innovation, which was the lifespring of the Baroque. Such faults as he possessed are the faults of his time, and only by a purist can they be condemned. In view of the testimony offered by Mafra, the *capella-mór* of Evora, and by what has survived of the patriarchal building, João Frederico Ludovice deserves to be numbered among the great architects who worked in the eighteenth century.

MATTIA PRETI

By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

MATTIA Preti[1] was born in 1613 at Taverna, Calabria, among the high mountains of the southern Sila, and baptized on February 26 under the name of the apostle whose day it was. His people were above the peasantry, yet below the nobility strictly speaking, with plenty of ecclesiastical connection. He was a big man, full-bodied, dark and brilliant-eyed, with heavy hair, and a kind of personal dignity that made him respected at sight; and he was an admirable fencer. One time in Rome Donna Olimpia, Princess of Rossano, asked him, not in vain, to defeat an arrogant German who had sent out a general challenge. Another story, vague, of the cape and sword type, also went the rounds, but no woman's name came in. Donna Olimpia, of course, was a great lady, who had simply suggested him for a feat of arms. She had done plenty of kindness to him when he first came up to Rome, at seventeen, to join his brother Gregorio, who was already an established painter. She probably recommended him to the papal legate at Bologna. The legate apparently sent him to Guercino at Cento, and Mattia, keeping always a special feeling for Guercino's painting, came back occasionally to a mood rare with him, that of romantic epic. Guercino's St. William of Aquitaine is like a canto of Ariosto, so is Mattia's St. George in Valletta.

His nature was vehement and religious. He had the traits of his mountain region, where the lesser nobility and the peasantry were all of one stock and had been in succession Greek, Byzantine, Saracen, perhaps Norman, then, for only half a millennium, straight Italian. They were violent, superstitious, and mystical; they were laborious and taciturn. They knew intimately witches, and the powers of evil; their saints had sway over the earth, the sea, the rain. The heavily wooded mountains that had supplied Greek and Byzantine shipping, and later the galleys of Frederick II and those of John of Austria, abounded in saints. St. Francis of Paula was born near Cosenza; Joachim of Flora began and ended his mysterious life in the northern Sila; Preti painted for the Celestines of Naples the renouncement of Pope Celestine—he also showed him in glory.

All Calabrians, one of them has said, carry at heart an ache. Preti was Knight of Malta, but for more than fifty years he had labored up through the grades: 1641, Cavaliere d'Ubbedienza; 1659, Cavaliere di Grazia; 1662, Cavaliere di Giustizia; in 1691, a *commenda* and financial security—his pension to be continued so long as he lived. Among the few documents surviving, remains the record of a commander's objection to admitting him Cavaliere di Grazia, "a request very seldom made, and then only for some friar-servant who had served the order for years and held a military charge." Mattia got his papers from home and proved

1. F. Baumgart has recently published an adequate bibliography in the lexicon of Thieme-Becker; especially useful are two books: Valerio Mariani, *Mattia Preti a Malta*, Rome, 1929, and Alfonso Frangipane, *Mattia Preti, "il Cavalier Calabrese,"* Milan, 1929. I am indebted to Signor Bonello of the Malta Museum for photographs and memoranda.

his gentle blood, at just about the same time as Velázquez went through an ordeal alike in intention, though different in specifications, for the order of St. James of the Sword. Velázquez, by the way, had been one of his introducers in 1650 to the *Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon* in Rome, and had proffered to him the ritual embrace.

Italians are not as a rule wanderers, but he had been about, not in Italy alone, but to Paris and the Low Countries, to Germany, even perhaps to Spain. So says De Dominici, who stands, indeed, for critics as the Cretans stood for the Greeks, yet he may not be lying; he knew Preti personally, he seems to have kept notes of conversations and frequently confused them, and he constructed and published his life of the Cavaliere Calabrese before commencing his ill-authenticated lives of the Neapolitan painters. But one would expect Preti, if he were ever in Spain, to cross the stage with Velázquez.

On reaching full maturity Preti knew Lombardy, Genoa, Parma, and a dozen places in the Emilia, and, most specially, Bologna and Venice. Correggio's subtly smiling babies, Mantegna's massive St. Sebastian, were among his stock properties, along with a soldier in armor after Paolo Veronese and the lovely shoulders of the girl whom Raphael set at the stair foot in the Miracle of Bolsena. Twice, in the thirties and in the latter forties of the Seicento he was working in and about Bologna; twice in Rome, at the beginning and in the fifties; and besides stopping perhaps at Naples when he first left home, he went back and cleared a place for himself in that den of brigands. There he painted from 1656 to the end of the decade, beginning with the seven frescoes of the Plague (Fig. 1), and culminating in the Celestine ceiling paintings. But always he was coming and going: visiting Taverna in the Sila, visiting Florence in Tuscany, and passing from one city to another as work in hand and fresh commissions ordained. He went even to Siena near the end of his life and painted, or sent back, three works so little congruous with what he found there that they have been ignored and unremembered. Yet it was indeed a pretty vanity of his to recall that he had left beauty on domes and ceilings, on walls and apses, everywhere in Italy: "I want to get away from Malta for awhile," he wrote, "so that in Sicily shall be fresco works of mine, since I have done them throughout Italy."

Like the other men of his generation he shifted his style to taste, and he adapted his manner to reminiscence of his masters, much as the poets did. No chronological list of works can be constructed from development of style. It is probably true that the magic of illusionism came over him only in his later years: certainly it dominates in that Martyrdom of St. George which though not unfinished is by tradition his last work. The rest must some day be arranged around the dated instances hazardously.

His taciturnity, his tenacity, his immense reserves of passion poured into his painting, were all in one key. The only women who touched his life were mother and sisters and sisters' children again, or others who filled their rôle. Suora Maria de Dominici worked as his assistant. In his will figures a family called Loreto or Loret: Anthony, Joachim, la Signora Cleria with her niece Anna and her two maids. He leaves the town house to her, the little country house to Joachim for himself

FIG. 1 — *Naples, National Museum: Plague of 1656, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 2 — *Valletta, St. John of the Knights of Jerusalem: One of the Blessed, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 3—*Dresden, Gallery: Liberation of St. Peter, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 4—*Naples, National Museum: Prodigal Son, by Mattia Preti*

and his sons. They had presumably been good friends to the old man. Pupils and assistants were few and undistinguished, except for his slave Mamet, "to whom," says the will, "I gave his liberty many years ago."

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The side of Preti most admired during his lifetime and while his memory held the field was the heroic epic: Christ Thundering, Satan Cast Down from the High Mountain (Fig. 7), the Plague Stayed (Fig. 1), the Adventures of St. Andrew and of St. Paul, the Death of St. Sebastian and a score of other martyrdoms. Here was his *terribilità*. Such themes had reassumed under the Counter Reformation a personal power, like the Greek drama which everybody knew and which for many of the audience was ancestral.

It will be convenient to consider first some of the frescoes, then easel pictures, finally the altarpieces which so abound in Taverna and Malta and which are certainly in great number the latest.

At Modena he decorated the dome and choir of S. Biagio with a Carmelite triumph which betrays the early influence of Lanfranco and Tiarino. The great saints of the order are lying about on clouds, chiefly occupied with God overhead, and angels making music along the line of the choir; the composition is free and open, but the frescoes have been restored to their detriment. Then at Rome in 1650 he secured the commission for the three choir spaces needed to finish the east end of S. Andrea della Valle, where Lanfranco had painted the dome and Domenichino the apse. The friars were excited and rolled off his full title; he was characteristic, content with little money, careful only that the great issue should correspond to his proper excellence. The great scale, the stately flanking architecture—Mattia Preti is said to have been himself an architect—the well-massed plastic figures, and the movement of the composition in long diagonals, entrant and emergent, mark a moment of pause and calm achievement. Some allegorical palace ceilings he devised: in that of Valmontone, near Rome, the poetic imagery brings back Guercino, with black and white dappled steeds like those of the Ludovisi Aurora; and again the magnificent Genoa episode of Clorinda Liberating Olindo and Sofronia.

In the gates of Naples he painted seven scenes of the Plague (Fig. 1): overhead, in one known from a study, the Virgin and Child; St. Januarius and St. Rosalie with another black-bearded figure in black, interceding; at the central pivotal point an angel preparing to sheathe his flaming sword; down below, the dying, the helpers, and the dead. Famous is a dead woman with her baby at her breast. The frescoes have perished; studies for only two of them are preserved, very small in scale, but the grandeur is sustained. These frescoes, if they existed, would be the finest work of the mid-Seicento, with their long drift of the forms from upper left to lower right or vice versa, their depth of space with figures coming forward above and going back below. The placing of the personages is like chessmen on a board: the pawns close, the bishops beyond, the Queen of Heaven behind as well as above; and the equilibrium is so sure, that, transfixing the angel, at a touch the whole would revolve indefinitely. It is the classic in Baroque. Meanwhile, the play of light superimposes its own pattern, and the *macchia,* which

corresponds in a way to the French *tâche* of the last century, beats out its own rhythm. A contemporary said that to watch the cavalier Calabrese painting was like watching a drummer.

The ceiling of S. Pietro a Majella, Naples, holds to the Venetian convention of gilded stucco in which are arranged paintings on canvas. Some of these were sent back from Malta, but the commission was accepted before Preti's departure for the island. Strung across the easterly transept and having the same orientation as those of the nave, are three roundels, and, between these, two rather narrow rectangles, all devoted to St. Catherine, but the coloring of the former is normal to the Seicento, a vivid blue, a red nearly scarlet, and a strong, deep, ocherish yellow, while the latter is conceived in deep silvery blacks and greys, flesh and all, as at times in Bassano's and El Greco's work. The roundels in the nave are blithe and scholarly, with strong blues and deep yellows, the narrower panels blackish, greyish and silvery. There is a group, a small one, of Preti's paintings which suggest El Greco: at Naples these in S. Pietro and those in S. Giovanni Elemosinario, and at Taverna those in the Capuchin church, a Pietà and a St. Martin with other saints, which can hardly be directly by Mattia, yet belong to him.

In the church of St. John of the Knights of Jerusalem, at Valletta, the frescoes have been restored once or twice already, and work is going on at present. Mattia offered to paint and decorate the whole vault at his own expense. The order as its contribution was to provide gold, colors, and whatever else was needed, scaffolding and workmen, and the oil used to saturate the limestone vaulting to make it hold the paint. The church itself needed improved lighting and ventilation; some of the artist's plans for improvement were accepted, some rejected, on the recommendation of the official architect. There was plenty of discomfort before the work was done; what should have been reimbursed dragged on interminably, and when he needed house rent and ultramarine and sponges it was not convenient to receive from some one "a present of 1,000 scudi in some jewel or whatever he prefers."

The Cinquecento church is built in the Spanish manner of the East Coast with interior buttresses making deep chapels along the nave. Six great bays constitute the barrel vaulting, on each of which at right and left are painted two scenes from the life of the Baptist and a third in a roundel directly overhead. Below the scenes, flanking a flattened oval window, sit two figures chosen from among the Soldiers or the Blessed of the order (Fig. 2). This part has suffered least retouching and is full of power and suggestion. Reminiscence of Michelangelo's Sistine slaves is sometimes close and not unworthy. At the west end is the Triumph of the Order, at the east the Trinity. The narrative scenes of the vault are framed in highly Baroque architecture between *termini,* with the actors piling up against these; and the center, spacious, distant, airy, with *putti* tumbling like pigeons in the blue. The perspective, *di sotto in sù,* is distorted, and the first restoration was unfortunately Neo-Classic. Done fast necessarily, the work shows no negligence, and has the spontaneity which rarely fails Mattia. The figures stay more nearly in parallel planes and closer to the foreground than in other work, and this was calculated for seeing them from underneath; but the main personages are as a

rule obliquely set. The original color and the plastic form can only be guessed by the help of the Blessed (Fig. 2) and Soldiers. But conscious power is here and dramatic invention unlabored. Apart even from the decoration of the chapels, and the many paintings of Preti in them, and from the later decoration of the oratory, in part only supervised by him, this is a titanic exploit. His frescoes, taken as a whole, are conceived as triumphs, like military music at Mass.

Preti takes over into easel pictures all his conscious power, expressive action, strong emotion. As with all his contemporaries, the intention of the picture was to carry along the spectator by the brilliancy of technique and the vibrations of a stirring theme. Drama is substituted for epic, and the subjects are taken from both Testaments, the liturgical calendar, poetry, and antiquity. Among the early paintings at Bologna, now lost, were a Belisarius, and Thomas More in chains. These are the works which abound in European galleries, often wrongly attributed, and usually the last to be photographed. The form is usually a rectangle, wider than high, pleasantly proportioned, and in a surprising majority of cases the drift of movement and interest goes from left to right. Sometimes the reason in technical: Mattia Preti liked to put in the lower right corner a semireclining nude which pieced out the enclosing semicircle of half-figures in the foreground, for instance, in the Corsini Lazarus, the Brussels Job, the Dresden St. Bartholomew and Liberation of St. Peter (Fig. 3), though in the last the chief movement runs the other way with the swift horizontality of the angel fairly pushing St. Peter off to the left. In the Sophonisba from the Jerace collection, the device is modified, though still employed: toward a gracious lady exquisitely dressed, successive men approach like waves against an island. The gleams of light, which strike on pearls and flesh and armor and a buffet of silver platters and ewers, filter down and separate the figures spatially.

In this category, the associations with Ribera—the debts, if you like—are more marked. The magnificent studio models with brow furrowed horizontally and flowing beard, the elderly women of the type that Ribera had remembered from his Spanish youth, the dark-haired man of thirty described by Pacheco for St. Joseph, play an important part. At Taverna there is a close copy, somewhat changed in proportion, of Ribera's Granada St. Sebastian. But like Ribera only in sentiment, in possessing the same poignancy that inheres in the Dream of Jacob depicted as a little Jewish peddler sleeping by the roadside, is perhaps the finest of Preti's conceptions which represents, quite candidly, the Prodigal Son putting on a clean shirt (Fig. 4). The realism is as direct and grand as that of Masaccio's man pulling off his. There are four or five planes occupied by the actors and assistants, and then, behind and beyond, out and on indefinitely, the changing lighted and shadowed air. Yet all the while the feeling of it, the father's head, the son's gesture and gaze! "All expressive matter," says a modern critic, "all sorrow and religion," the terms are comprehensive,

Caravaggio's influence over him appears differently. Preti knew well the work in North Italy and in Rome, and later had always before him the Decollation of the Knights of Malta. Occasionally, as in St. Peter Paying Tribute, the influence leaps out, more often it lurks not just in the plastic forms but in the essential

grandeur. Consider the Albaneta Crucifixion (Fig. 5): the parallels are Castagno's Crucifixion with Sts. Mary and John and two Friars, and El Greco's Paris Crucifixion with two Donors. This is the third Christ shown to the thighs, two religious shown to the elbows, in austere *contrapposto,* no more.

Or take the three feasts in Naples: Dives', Absalom's, Belshazzar's. In all these the composition pulls both ways equally: Lazarus and his dog come in from the left (Fig. 6), Dives picks his teeth with incredible refinement and looks away at the right, and the front edge of the table, unoccupied, runs parallel with the frame. Harp and flute and peacock fan are in use, but all this sumptuous faring is everyday. How the light caresses the forms, in flesh and stuffs and glimmering tiers of silver! In Absalom's feast the interest is distributed: on the right, the young golden-haired hero directing the action; toward the left, the assassins and the victim involved in a surperb pattern of arms; and the guests more entertained than scandalized. Backs of chairs, backs of men are set slantwise for an exterior framework; the pattern repeats itself in three concentric circles. Belshazzar's feast is crowded and imperial, with every figure dramatized, and the buffets throw back a few gleams out of the extreme shadows—those same buffets with ewers and basins that are still arrayed in Spanish churches for feast days. Mattia's realism never stops at the real; it heightens the tension and contributes to the pattern. The critic just quoted, himself a Calabrian, in quite another context ends his passage on the "essential originality.... always stronger, rich in new formal and spatial values, but above all, expressive of a sensibility unique and potent and profound."

All of Mattia's painting has darkened grievously: Mizraim and the mummies have had their revenge. What once was liquid shadow is now opaque as onyx; veils of dirt have been enclosed, century after century, between the coats of varnish. That leaves the spectator with only half-measure, to watch the composition moving at right angles parallel to the canvas as in Satan Cast Down (Fig. 7), and still at right angles but swung around through 45° as in the Naples Judith (Fig. 8), or converging (where there are more figures) at equal angles on the central (but not frontal) figure as in the Dresden Incredulity; to meet the plastic crash and heave; to follow the withdrawing space, and trace the pattern of light that moves independent of the design. About the relations of colors no one can surely know. Yet the coloring is never superimposed: like the old Titian's and Velázquez's, it is integral. Mattia's energy was inexhaustible, his architecture infallible; a dozen times he may recur to a special adjustment, or a plastic interlace, never twice identical.

The Cavaliere Calabrese apparently painted directly from brain to canvas, without elaborate preparation. His mind was stored. He said once that he had worked at drawing for fifteen years before commencing as painter; and all the constituents of a picture lay under his hand, in a dozen variants. No two pictures are alike, as a matter of fact, but it is more important to presume that he saw no reason, after all, why they should not be alike. The Saracen inheritance with its care for the pure pattern, the Byzantine inheritance with its perpetual recurrence, were imbedded deep below consciousness and influenced his conception and his brush. The interplay of repetition and variation was to be vital for him in the years at Malta, throughout nearly fifty years of isolation.

FIG. 5—*Naples, Albaneta Collection: Crucifixion, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 6—*Naples, Private Collection: Feast of Dives, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 7—*Naples, National Museum: Satan Cast Down, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 8—*Naples, National Museum: Judith, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 9—*Taverna, S. Domenico: Self-Portrait, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 10—*Sarria: St. Roch, by Mattia Preti*

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In Malta they called him Matias. He lived in a garrison town exactly as today but more flourishing. Malta is prehistoric and African, but like the other Knights and the British officers, he probably remained impervious to the Semitic language, and to the general air of an oasis a little paler colored than the desert. At Valletta "all that was *terra firma* was oblique, upreared, downhanging, stepped," and beyond, the turquoise level of the sea; and overhead, the clear blue level of the sky, star-sown at night like the desert, with the multitudinous nebulae and constellations. The color of dust, of the tilled earth, of the stone walls that hem in the roads, winding from little town to town, of the noble churches that rear against the sky line, two or four or five, at every glimpse afforded on topping a low ridge or crossing a valley that widens down to the sea, is all one color, a tender ocherish yellow, golden-hued but not gilded, for the fine substance of the stone is opaque, *mat.* The very dogs and donkeys are tinged with it. The fortress towers of the Knights still crumble on the hills. Palm trees overtop walls, and agave and prickly pear border the fields with impenetrable hedges, and where the creaking wells have raised water, the flowering plants and trees in gardens make a *macchia,* lavender or rose, and then the yellow walls run on again. In the early light and the twilight, thin bells ring from all about the horizon, faint and clear as the muezzin's cry.

All this, Preti knew, for he painted in a score of villages, each compact like a tiny city, and in perhaps half a hundred churches, high-vaulted, still and blonde, many of which he would have seen in building and others he might have dreamed, for the eighteenth century held fast to the same tradition; but he was immune. So had been Caravaggio; so were the Grand Masters in their succession, the Commendatori, and the Knights. So are the British officers.

Preti had lived in the great world, at Rome. He had held his own at Naples, done his work, kept his friends. There in Malta he was trapped. He had wanted for many years to get there and now he could not get away. The Grand Master had always something else which must be done, and he was always short of money. These things are in the letters to Ruffo. To be sure, at Valletta there were people coming and going from anywhere to everywhere, but he was tied up. He did not, however, mind as much as he thought he would. He had much to do. But he never had access to fresh ideas. Temperamentally, however, he was disposed to enjoy rearrangements. But furthermore, and this is what matters, he was not, after all, living in a mountain village, or a papal city, he was living in an immense monastery. There were masses and vigils, long advents and solemn festivals, the choir offices, the interminable rosaries. These he had wanted and these sufficed.

At one time between 1670 and 1680 he went to Taverna and arranged an endowment for a family chapel there, to be dedicated to the Baptist; doubtless there he painted swiftly and with great content. The gigantic Baptist is rendered with very red flesh tones, like some other Taverna pictures; in the corner is a self-portrait in the habit of the order (Fig. 9). Other pictures he sent back afterwards, but between the work at Taverna and that in Malta the difference lies more in

content than in form. The high altarpiece of S. Domenico, Taverna, embodied a Calabrian legend, how two peasants when in the fields saw Christ thundering down, destroying the world on account of men's wickedness "and the Virgin opposing Him with her usual pity." A fine St. Dominic fills the lower right corner, with dog and torch, and the earth slowly rolling over. Elsewhere St. Francis of Paula is crossing the narrow seas on his cloak. More than one Pietà he painted, now ruinous but once marvelous, with the dead Christ spanning the canvas, handled tenderly by His mother and by their friends submerged in shadows. For the design of some pictures he went back as though to the closing Quattrocento, setting the Virgin with her Child on high and a pair of saints to adore her: St. Francis of Paula and St. Gaetano, St. Michael and St. Francis of Assisi. Later he turned an Assumption that might have come from Veronese into a magnificent *pala* for St. Barbara: Christ with His wounds receiving the saint upborne to Him on a cloud to intercede, and startled folk below with gestures strained and watching. The death of St. Peter Martyr recalles Caravaggio, especially the assassin. The mighty figure of St. Sebastian, greyish in tone, is looking up into heaven in steady ecstasy; in the romantic background may be made out the Colosseum, a campanile, the dome of the Pantheon, a cluster of solemn cypresses. There is a replica of this in the island of Gozo adjacent to Malta. In the St. Sebastian at the Cappuccini a boy of Ribera's is picking up the saint's clothes, and light from a burning mountain is thrown up against the sky; this is very plastic and fine. The Presentation is for once intimate, and done from a different set of models; it makes a lovely use of red, spotted across. A Trinity (what was called in northern Europe the Throne of Grace) shows the Father with almost the gesture of Michelangelo's Virgin, and the Dove striking down from above. A Virgin in starred mantle has a scapular in her hand and the Baby caressing her chin, angels with crown above, with lily and palm flanking, Sts. Catherine, Lucy, Lawrence, and St. Francis of Sales, below, and down under all the souls in purgatorial fire. Plenty more paintings are in churches and oratories through the town, and about the countryside, and a handful at Catanzaro. All these Calabrian pictures are in a shocking state: repainted, blackened, tattered. Most of them were once of a high order, and the simplifications where they occur are rather advantageous. Among some portraits in S. Domenico, besides the self-portrait of the private altarpiece (Fig. 9), is a Dominican painted as St. Peter Martyr, austere and suggestive. Probably the whole church is filled with portraits in the aspect of saints, but none so poignant as the face of Preti. Like Velázquez's Philip Old, it is heart-breaking. Occasionally, though rarely, another look breaks through, a *De Profundis,* as at Valletta in the St. James with the Virgin of the Column in the Carmine, and the St. Roch of Sarria (Fig. 10).

Malta and Gozo are so full of Preti's work that no room remains for any other school. Other masters have decorated a suite of rooms, even a whole palace, but Preti needed an island to hold his abundance. Nothing can be done in this too brief study but to pick out a few representative pieces, with the proviso that the hand of an assistant must be conjectured more often than has been admitted.

The suburban church of Sarria was dedicated for thanksgiving after pestilence

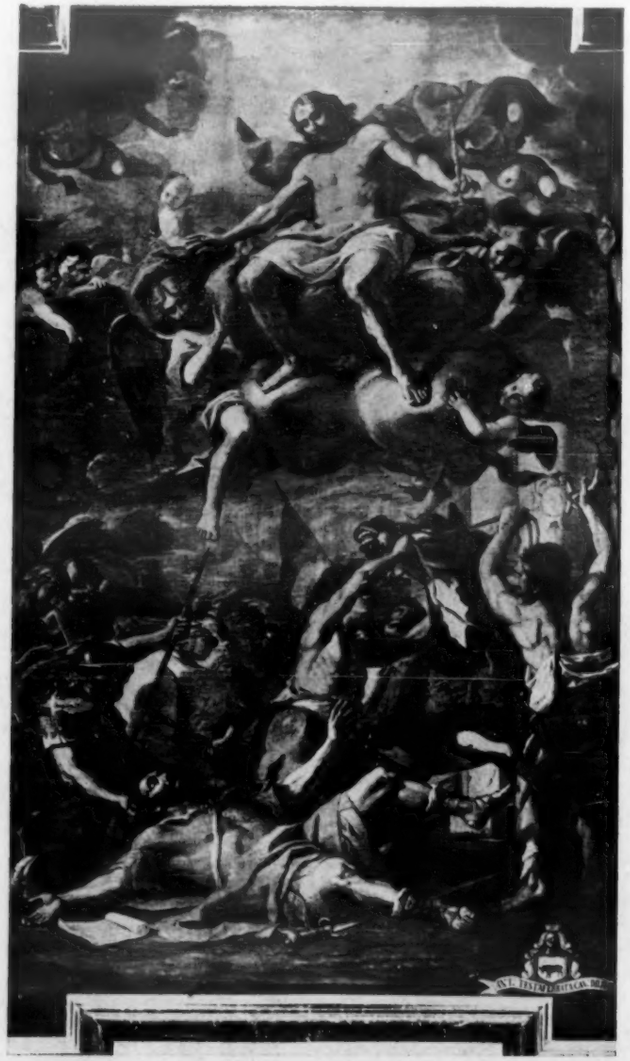

FIG. 11—*Città Vecchia, Old Cathedral: Conversion of St. Paul*

FIG. 12—*Valletta, S. Francesco: St. Gregory before the Madonna and St. Anne, by Mattia Preti*

FIG. 13—*Malta, S. Caterina d'Italia:*
Martyrdom of Mattia Preti

FIG. 14—*Sliema, Stella Maris Chapel:*
Rest on the Flight into Egypt, by Mattia Preti

in 1667, but Preti only set to work on the decorations ten years later. The allegorical lunettes are excellent after their kind in coloring and composition; the Immacolata over the altar is well conceived, in a Spanish vein. Saints in the four angles shine out with all their interrelations of gesture and equilibrium and coloring: Sts. Roch (Fig. 10) and Sebastian, Nicholas and Rosalie. The bits of background, of town or landscape, serve to enhance and widen the small sanctuary, especially the mountain view below St. Sebastian, unexpectedly romantic, as in the paintings of the same saint elsewhere, and like the park scenery of the St. Catherine in the Master's Palace. In the altar on the epistle side at Casal Lia the whole center is given over to his best landscape, between Sts. Roch and Sebastian in brilliant *contrapposto*; and the coloring is Venetian.

The old cathedral in Città Vecchia (which is called also Notabile) being rebuilt, was decorated by Preti in 1683 with St. Paul's Shipwreck in the semidome, his Conversion (Fig. 11) in the apse, flanked by the Deaths of Sts. Peter and Paul, and the choir walls finished off with the Maltese adventures. Here is the old heroic manner without the old zest, yet, as academic, admirable. Two pictures in S. Francesco of Valletta done ten years apart (1671, 1681) show, perhaps, a slackening of energy in the interval but this may be due to the difference of subject. In the first St. Luke is painting the Virgin, in a Roman edifice adorned with statues, the Virgin herself being in the spectator's place; an ecclesiastic looks out and prays behind. This is signed and dated. In the other (Fig. 12) St. Anne and the Virgin are exhibiting the Holy Child to St. Gregory and a *putto* below is sustaining, and St. Gregory presenting, the likeness of Gregory Carafa. The background melts into darkness; the air of the whole is serene.

The altarpiece of S. Caterina d'Italia (Fig. 13) had been sent as a present before Preti came to reside in Malta, 1659; it is a sort of masterwork, impeccable, and in truth majestic and lovely, but it cannot be used as a standard against which to measure other works because so many excellences exist apart from and incompatible with perfection. The composition is perhaps too like the vaulting of S. Giovanni. The color may be recorded: St. Catherine kneeling on a sort of cippus in a blue-lilac dress and yellow robe; the executioner, drawing his sword, in a vivid blue petticoat; a scarlet turban; a blue sky with grey cloud mass. Down at the foot of the steps sits a lady with the lovely shoulders that Raphael invented. For Siggewi in 1676 was painted the Miracle of St. Nicholas with the same two-storied effect: the saint and the lost boy above, a banquet below, but here the table is set at an angle of 45°, like the slab in Caravaggio's Pietà. The scarlet of a banqueter and the brilliant use of shadow must make this memorable among all the outlying pictures, even apart from the startling application, overhead, of a motto derived from Hebrews VII: 25, to the effect that he (St. Nicholas) is always living and interceding for us.

The pictures in the Jesuit church at Valletta demand attention, but they and countless others are of less interest perhaps than those distributed over the island in the infinitesimal cities called Casal this and that, from Casal Lia to Casal Curmi.

These altarpieces placed at the end of a vista are seen vaguely, veiled by the light of candles, clouded by incense smoke. They are subjects for meditation as

the rosary slips through the knotted fingers. Every personage has more than a meaning, and comes trailing a legend and carrying unguessed potentialities. In the isolated chapels like that at the Boschetto or that of Sarria, the paintings are multiplied, what they offer to those who pray is successive or alternative. In the gracious blonde churches often the intention is orchestral: suggestive or essential. The counter reformation sent men back into the churches to pray, and gave them there an impulse, a hint, a memory. What has realism to do with them? And to this day the men of Malta still throng the churches, gentle and simple, side by side.

For the altarpiece at Casal Lia the painter took a motive from the Pesaro Madonna, but the Child is more playful and the Virgin graver. The whole picture is seen from an angle which makes the most of St. Nicholas and of St. Peter as Pontiff, on her right, while St. Raphael on the other side is hardly more than any adolescent angel. The illumination is studied and varied, culminating in children's faces seen across a strong and dissolving light, in pure illusionism. At Sliema (Fig. 14) in the chapel called Stella Maris the process is carried a step further, the whole picture is made of shifting shadows, with St. Joseph asleep in the darkness of the foreground. The Martyrdom of St. Andrew at Casal Luca (1687) is fantastical, opening into heaven, with a patch of gold mist.

In Casal Zurrico the St. Andrew is simply a cult image, nearly frontal, highly plastic, set against his great cross in the Maltese landscape with a heavy rock on one hand, on the other the sea and fishing boats leaning to the wind. The Martyrdom of St. Catherine shows the Dove descending towards the expectant saint, who is set high on a sort of pillar with her hands chained, and a prostrate crowd in the foreground. The color is all a gold mist with a little scarlet, brilliant but soft, visionary and musical. In the sacristy hangs one of the painter's rare glimpses of intimacy: a Visitation with the two husbands flanking, and below, Sts. Thomas Aquinas and Paul the Hermit who are unaware of what is going on and may be ignored. Red and yellow in interlace flicker across the canvas and about a purple-blue robe.

The Martyrdom of St. George at Casal Curmi is almost monochrome, wrapped in a greenish golden mist. The saint holds the center in a great upward sweep that moves from the crowd low on the right, past him, to the executioner on the lower left. The familiar armed men are there, the familiar *putti* with palm and crown. In this as in many martyrdoms, the place in the pattern of the reclining nude is taken by a figure seen from behind, kneeling, in a treble zigzag of legs, buttocks, and back. Bassano had used it often; and it passed into the Sevillian painting of the Adoration of the Shepherds. At the top Christ in a blue cloak is hovering and swooping. Some have deplored the intellectual decrepitude of the artist as here betrayed. It might seem rather a case like Turner's old age, where the artist has gone ahead faster than most can follow.

No man, not even Preti, could paint in the same way for fifty years, nor pray in the same way. Caravaggio died at forty, full-blooded in the very process of change, as may be seen at Malta and at Messina; the man of nearly ninety, if he is anything, is visionary. In the last years Preti was painting for the poor, to sustain whole families, to give marriage portions to girls, to look after one and another poor old man. He was painting, however, as always, the way he felt.

A REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF GANDHĀRA SCULPTURE

By BENJAMIN ROWLAND, Jr.

AN intensive study of the Graeco-Buddhist sculpture of northwestern India, including an examination of all the most important specimens in India and in European and Japanese collections, has led me to view as a basic fallacy the consideration of this school as an isolated phenomenon, totally foreign, and completely apart from the general current of Indian art. At the same time I have come to the conclusion that the traditional chronology for this sculpture as maintained by Professors Foucher, Bachhofer, and others is unreasonable and irreconcilable with the historical and material evidence that has come to light in recent years.[1] My refutation of these traditional theories is based, first of all, on the stylistic testimony of the objects themselves, supported by a more logical interpretation of the era dates found on certain statues and by the chronology of types of masonry evolved by Sir John Marshall in the course of his excavations at Taxila.[2] My solution of both of the problems stated above will be incorporated in our examination of the chronology. Any aesthetic evaluation of the Gandhāra sculptures would be irrelevant to the problem.[3] I omit also the question of the stylistic origins of the school except in so far as it has some bearing on the chronology.

Stated in the briefest possible terms, the traditional view of the date of Graeco-Buddhist art has been that the most classic of the Gandhāra sculptures are the earliest and that in later phases of the school we are witnesses to a gradual process of "Indianization" of the Hellenistic features that distinguish the first examples. The school is generally admitted to have come to an end with the disastrous invasion of the Huns in the sixth century.[4] This view is supported by its protagonists on certain premises in regard to numismatic evidence and on their interpretation of the few dates that appear on the Graeco-Buddhist monuments. In this system the earliest monument is the gold reliquary from Bimarān (Afghanistan) (Fig. 1)

1. The theories advanced in this article do not disturb in the least my belief that, on the evidence of objects of purely classical type found at Taxila and elsewhere, there existed a tradition of provincial Greek art in Asia. It is still essential to assume the existence of such a substratum of Hellenistic culture to account for the origins of Graeco-Buddhist art, an art that in its period of maturity was equally receptive to the streams of influence from the Roman Orient.

2. John Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila*, in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (hereafter referred to as A.S.I., A.R.), 1912-13, p. 13.

3. Any attempt at an aesthetic appraisal of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture is complicated by the obvious fact that, although partly rooted in the surviving Hellenistic culture and in the healthy and truly primitive art of India, its forms are mainly derived from an art already past its prime – the pale and sickly twilight of the Graeco-Roman world. The art of Gandhāra is both nascent and decadent, for, in spite of a period when, as we shall see, it approximates the best of second and third century Roman work, its decline really begins with its birth.

4. For a concise presentation of the various opinions of the age of the Gandhāra sculptures, the reader is referred to L. Bachhofer, *Zur Datierung der Gandhāra Plastik*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 4-7. See also K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India*, London, 1926, pp. 49-51 and 54-56; Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1929, pp. 47 ff.

found by Charles Masson with a deposit of the coins of Azes I, whose reign is conceded to have begun in 58 B. C.[5] Next in chronological order comes a Buddha statue from the monastery at Loriyān Tāngai with an inscription in the three hundred and eighteenth year of an unknown era (Fig. 2). This era, it is claimed, is that of the Seleucids, beginning in 312 B. C., making it possible to date the Loriyān Tāngai statue in the year 6 A. D.[6] An inscription in the three hundred and eighty-fourth year, again of an unmentioned era, enables Bachhofer to place a Buddha from Chārsada and its inscribed base in the year 72 A. D. (Fig. 3). There follows in this traditional list the reliquary of King Kanishka inscribed in the first year of his reign (Fig. 6).[7] The most recent scholarship on the date of Kanishka fixes on the year 128-29 A. D. for the beginning of his reign as opposed to the older theory that he became Maharaja of the Kushans in 78 A. D.[8] It is pointed out that the figures on this little casket already show a marked decadence from the style of the earlier mentioned sculpture. This argument obviously supports the priority of the more Hellenistic sculpture. Helping to maintain this line of reasoning is a crude statue of Harītī from Skarah Dherī (Fig. 14), dated in the year three hundred ninety-nine of—presumably—the Seleucid era and thereby corresponding to 87 A. D.[9] For specimens from the later days of the school, Bachhofer submits examples illustrating the gradual decline of the Graeco-Buddhist sculpture until its extinction in the sixth century.

Our belief in the view outlined above is disturbed, first of all, by the fact that there is no evidence for the use of the foreign era of the Seleucids in India; in fact, the only reason to believe that it was even employed in Bactria is an inscription on a single coin of an otherwise unknown Greek satrap, Plato.[10] This coin was found in Central Asia. There is even less foundation for the employment of a Maurya era as a method of reckoning time. Furthermore, a fundamental difficulty presents itself from the point of view of style in that the distinctly heavy and voluminous drapery of these supposed early statues is completely like that of certain stucco images discovered at Hadda and which are admittedly no earlier than the third century of our era.[11] Nor is there any notable variation in the treatment of the Buddha's garment in these figures of the first century A. D. and others which Bachhofer is happy to date in the second and third centuries, when the period of decadence had presumably set in.[12] The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the inscriptions on the Buddhas from Loriyān Tāngai and Chārsada in terms of the Seleucid era.

5. H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua.... with a memoir on the buildings called topes by C. Masson*, London, 1841, p. 71.

6. See J. P. Vogel, *Archaeological Survey of India; United Provinces and Punjab*, 1903-04, p. 55, and A. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. II, Paris, 1922, p. 484. Foucher believes in the existence of a Maurya era beginning in 322 B. C.

7. From the completeness of their chronicles of events in India and the "western countries" we may assume that the Chinese were thoroughly *au courant* with developments in these regions. The fact that there is no mention of Kanishka up to the time the records stop in 125 A. D. is certainly a point in favor of the later dating for his reign. See S. Konow, *Kharoshthi inscriptions, Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum*, Calcutta, 1929, II, lxxv ff. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, VIII, p. 150.

8. L. Bachhofer, *Zur Ära Kanishkas*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1930, p. 9.

9. L. Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, fig. 11.

10. A. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. II, 1875, p. 2.

11. G. Migeon, *French Archaeological Mission to Afghanistan*, in *Eastern Art*, I, p. 219, fig. 1.

12. L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, London, 1928, pls. 153, 155, 156.

FIG. 1—*London, British Museum: Gold Reliquary from Bimarān (Afghanistan). Here dated II-III Century A. D.*

FIG. 2—*Calcutta, Indian Museum: Buddha from Loriyān Tāngai. Here dated 168 A. D.*

FIG. 3—*Rajar, Hindu Temple: Buddha from Chārsada. Here dated 234 A. D.*

FIG. 4—*Hoti-Mardan, Guides' Mess: Buddha. III Century A. D.*

FIG. 5—*Bodh Gaya: Yakshi. I Century B. C.*

FIG. 6—*Peshawar, Archaeological Museum: Reliquary of Kanishka. Here dated 129 A. D.*

FIG. 7—*Taxila, Archaeological Museum: Female Statuette. I Century A. D.*

If it is impossible to prove the use of this western era in India, there is on the contrary abundant evidence that the western satraps of the same Kushanas who held their sway in northwestern India used as a calendric reckoning the Saka era that began in about 150 B. C.[13] Now, if the Kharoshthi inscriptions on the statues under discussion are translated into terms of the Saka era, it will be seen that these works should be dated 168 and 234 A. D. respectively.[14] In support of this dating for the earlier of the statues is the testimony of the masonry at the monastery of Loriyān Tāngai: It belongs to the type which Sir John Marshall has designated as "large diaper," a pattern that he has found to be characteristic of the second century A. D. [15] In like manner, the monastery at Chārsada was constructed in "semi-ashlar" masonry which Marshall has assigned to the third century.[16]

It may now be asked, how are we to account for the fact that these statues, and, by the same token, all of the Gandhāra Buddhas of the more Hellenistic type, are to be dated as much as fifty to a hundred years later than the "debased" type represented by the reliefs on Kanishka's casket? The answer to this and, in fact, the logical solution to the whole development of the Gandhāra school is contained in a remark of Professor Rhys Carpenter's: "The graphic and plastic arts actually move through a perfectly logical and intelligible technical evolution from which it is utterly impossible for them to deviate."[17] He is speaking of the "laws governing the development of drapery forms" in Greek sculpture from the incised and timid carving of the archaic through the mature style of the fifth century to the final decadence in the twilight of the classic period. In other words, it is my contention that we are to regard the reliefs of the Kanishka reliquary not as decadent, but archaic. The technique of rendering drapery by incision had long been the practice of the ancient national schools of India: this method is revealed to us in the reliefs of Sanchi, Bodh Gaya (Fig. 5), and Bharhut. There is, in addition to the Kanishka casket, a considerable body of evidence to support the priority of this type of drapery over the heavy classic folds of the two dated statues discussed above. First of all, we have a female statuette (Fig. 7) discovered by Sir John Marshall at Taxila under conditions suggesting a date "no later than the middle of the first century A. D."[18] This figurine, carved in the characteristic blue schist of the Swat Valley, is no more nor less than a combination of elements faintly recognizable as Hellenistic blended with the indigenous Indian traditions.

13. S. Konow, *Kalawan Copper Plate Inscription of the Year 134,* in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1932, p. 964. The Dutch astronomer Van Wijk once calculated that the Saka era began in 83-84 B. C. Konow's reasoning for the earlier dating is, however, completely convincing.

14. S. Konow, *Kalawan Copper Plate Inscription of the Year 134,* in *Epigraphia Indica,* April, 1932, p. 259. An inscription on a duck-shaped silver vase from Taxila testifies to the use of the Saka era in northern India as well; *ibid.*, p. 255.

15. Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, p. 490, in contradiction of his dating of the sculpture, also assigns the buildings at Loriyān Tāngai to the second century of our era. For an illustration of the ruins of this monastic establishment, see Indian Museum Photograph no. 1034.

16. The startling discovery at Chārsada of an Early Christian statue of St. Peter, related to his effigy in St. Peter's, Rome, suggests an even later period for the florescence of this Buddhist center. See Indian Museum Photographs nos. 822 and 823.

17. R. Carpenter, *The Humanistic Value of Archaeology,* Cambridge, 1933, p. 79.

18. J. Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila,* in *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1919-20, p. 20 and pl. IX, 1 and 2. The figure was found with coins of King Gondophares, who presumably received the apostle Thomas on his mission to India.

The face is typically round, full and Indian in type; the drapery of the *sari* is indicated merely by a number of parallel lines incised on the surface of the stone. The general proportions, greater roundness, and the headdress suggest themselves as elements Hellenistic rather than Indian. On the basis of the chronology according to masonry types, we are able to place in the same "archaic" group the stucco decoration of "Stupa R 1" within the complex of the Dharmarajīka stupa at Taxila (Fig. 8); the reliefs at this site reveal exactly the same primitive incision as the statuette; and the building material of the monument that these sculptures decorated belongs to the "large diaper" variety of the second century A. D.[19] In this same category belongs the masonry of the base of Kanishka's giant stupa at Peshawar (Fig. 11); the surviving stucco sculpture of this monument, again, is in precisely the same archaic style as the reliefs of the metal relic box from the same place.[20] The slate reliefs from "L building" of the Dharmarajīka stupa at Taxila (Fig. 9), dateable by the characteristics of the masonry in the second century, must be included in the same group.[21] A new piece of evidence comes to our aid in establishing the early date of these "Gandhāra primitives" in the discovery by Sir John Marshall at Kalawan in the Taxila precinct of a quantity of Graeco-Buddhist reliefs (Fig. 10), agreeing exactly in style with the fragments from the Dharmarajīka stupa. These sculptures—and presumably the whole site—are dated by an inscribed plate found under this monastery with an inscription in the one hundred and thirty-fourth year of Azes, or, reckoning from the beginning of the Vikrāma era of 58 B. C., 77 A. D.[22] An examination of the photographs of this excavation at India House, London, has led me to the conclusion that the character of the building materials is in complete accord with this dating: the masonry belongs to the "small diaper" type characteristic of the first century of our era.[23] The last, but by no means the least important, link in the argument, is the fact that in the portrait statue of King Kanishka himself (Fig. 17), a monument which always has been described as "primitive" or "barbaric," the drapery is arranged in the same meaningless incised swirl as on the stucco figures at Shāh-jī-kī-dherī. Our conclusion from the evidence submitted in the foregoing paragraphs is that the archaic, or primitive, type of Gandhāra sculpture lasted for about one hundred years, 50 to 150 A. D., and was then gradually replaced by the works of defiinitely more classic type.[24]

It remains to justify this chronology by an examination of the Buddhas of 168 and 234 A. D. Their greater classicism might, of course, be explained as a logical development within the school itself aided by the presence of the Eurasian Greek craftsmen who probably were responsible for the survival of the Hellenistic tradition in Asia. A more logical explanation of the problem, and a solution already suggested by analogies in the architecture of Gandhāra,[25] would be a new wave

19. J. Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila,* in *A.S.I., A.R.,* 1914-15, p. 6.

20. D. B. Spooner, *Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-dherī,* in *A.S.I., A.R.,* 1908-09, pls. XI (a) and XIV (a).

21. J. Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila,* in *A.S.I., A.R.,* 1912-13.

22. Konow, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1932, p. 964.

23. See photograph no. 118 in the collection prepared for the Director General of Archaeology, 1931-32.

24. Not the least valuable and interesting part of this stylistic chronology is that by comparison with the dated examples it is possible to assign such famous statues as the "Athena" of the Lahore Museum to this archaic period of Gandhāra sculpture. See V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,* Oxford, 1930, pl. 134 A.

25. It will suffice in this respect to point out the undeniable relation between the Corinthian capitals from Jamalgarhi and the Roman capitals of Palmyra.

FIG. 8—*Taxila, Dharmarajika Stupa: Stucco Relief. I Century A. D.*

FIG. 9—*Taxila, Archaeological Museum: Buddhist Relief from Dharmarajika Stupa. II Century A. D.*

FIG. 10—*Taxila, Archaeological Museum: Buddhist Relief from Kalawan. 77 A. D.*

FIG. 11—*Peshawar, Shāh-ji-ki-dherī: Stucco Relief. II Century A. D.*

FIG. 12—*Hoti-Mardan, Guides' Mess: Drinking Scene. II III Century A. D.*

FIG. 13—*Rome, Arch of Constantine: Victory. 315 A. D.*

FIG. 14—*Lahore, Central Museum: Harītī from Skarah Dherī. Dated 249 A. D.*

of Western influence from the cultural centers of the Roman empire. It was precisely in the period of Hadrian and Trajan that trade between India and the Roman empire reached its greatest volume. This would be the logical moment when we should look for the importation of skilled Roman craftsmen into the Kushana empire. If stylistic comparisons are desired we shall find that the two dated Buddhas can be related much more closely to the heavily swathed figures of the Hadrianic reliefs of the Palazzo dei Conservatori than to the thinly clad orators of the Hellenistic period which are generally cited as prototypes for the draped Buddha image.[26] Furthermore, the resemblance in the actual arrangement of the costume as well as in the treatment of the drapery in closely bunched folds in the Gandhāra relief of Fig. 12 and in the Victory on the arch of Constantine (Fig. 13) is too close to be explainable as mere accident or coincidence. In both of these carvings, as in countless other Gandhāra sculptures of the third and fourth centuries, the folds are, as Toesca says in describing the Constantinian monument, "quasi incavate entro le carni delle figure."[27] To explain this similarity, we are tempted to accept the idea that Roman sculpture, in spite of an indebtedness to the robust art of Etruria, is, like the work of Gandhāra, a degenerate development of Hellenism. The comparison of these works of Indian and Roman sculpture also suggests that, although the Graeco-Buddhist sculpture of this period maintains an almost Greek respect for the volume of the drapery, the Buddha images of the third and fourth centuries are certainly related to the work of the schools that produced the sarcophagi of Sidamara and the grave reliefs of Palmyra.[28] Indeed, the so-called Roman sculpture of the late third and fourth centuries seems just as surely to derive from these Oriental centers. Even in the best examples of Gandhāra this relationship is indicated by the predilection for parallel folds and by a sharpness in the profile of the individual pleats that is typical of Palmyrene workmanship. It is possible, of course, that we are to seek a common Greek prototype for late Roman, Palmyrene, and Gandhāran sculpture in the last Hellenistic workshops of Asia Minor. Such a figure as the terra cotta by Menophilos in the British Museum suggests itself as a stylistic ancestor of the drapery in all of these schools of late classic sculpture.[29] The parallels that I have pointed out and the survival in Gandhāra art of many Hellenistic and non-Roman forms tend to support

See E. Herzfeld and F. Sarre, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910, p. 229, and D. Schlumberger, *Les formes anciennes du chapiteau corinthien en Syrie, en Palestine et en Arabie*, in *Syria*, Paris, 1933, 3ème fasc...., pls. XXIX, XXX, etc.

26. Cf. Mrs. A. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, London, 1911, pl. LXXI, 1 and 3.

27. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte classica ed italiana*, Turin, 1927, p. 57. The statue of Harītī from Skarah Dherī inscribed with a date corresponding to 249 A. D. is enveloped in a mesh of crudely carved folds that is undoubtedly an unsuccessful imitation of this type of drapery (Fig. 14). An early Byzantine parallel may be found in the Nike from Eivan Serai Qapusu in the Ottoman Museum, Constantinople (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, pl. XXXVII).

28. Although drawing its iconography and types from Indian art, the sculpture of Gandhāra occupies the same relative position as Early Christian art to the art of the Roman empire. However distinctively Buddhist or Christian in spirit, these two arts are none the less classic in form. The parallels that exist between Gandhāran, Palmyrene, and Early Christian art are no more than we would expect to find between these various manifestations all within the periphery of the classic world.

29. Cf. D. Burr, *Terra cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, p. 11: "[The terra cotta by Menophilos in the British Museum] may be considered a Greek prototype for later Palmyrene and Indian styles of sculpture in which the drapery clings to the body and legs in loop-like folds monotonously repeated."

the theory that we have a direct continuation of Hellenistic art untouched by Western influence. This led to the convention of representing the folds as a series of raised ridges arranged across the surface of the body. In the final phase of Gandhāra art, there is an undoubted return to more Indian types and, under the influence of the contemporary Gupta sculpture, a reassertion of the ancient national tradition whereby the body is fully revealed by the garment, but with emphasis on the borders of the robe (Fig. 18). In the Gupta statues of Mathura and Gandhāra of the late fourth and fifth centuries, the Buddha appears as though naked in a net of parallel strings—the final reduction to Indian terms of the heavy, concealing robes of the period of Western influence.

In the period when Western influence was at its height—roughly from the late second to the early fourth century—a correspondingly greater classical feeling appears in the heads of the Buddha statues. In the great collection of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture in the Guides' Mess at Hotī-Mardan are certain images which, by the exact similarity of the drapery to the robes of dated figures, may be assigned to the third century A. D.; the heads of these statues (Fig. 4) have a soft and effeminate charm reminding one of such Graeco-Roman works as the Apollo Belvedere.[30] In the final period of Gandhāra sculpture the heads lose all resemblance to classical types; they are shaped in accordance with the full, moonlike formula prescribed in the ateliers of Central India in the Gupta period; and the more orthodox *ushnisha* or the convention of snail-shell curls replaces the krobylos and wavy locks of the earlier period.

To consolidate the dating of the mature period of Gandhāra art in the second and third centuries, I may mention the discovery at Mamane Dherī, near Chārsada, of a relief of Buddha in the Indrasala Cave (Fig. 16) which is dated in the eighty-ninth year of an era most likely Kanishka's, or 216 A. D. Konow had pointed out the difficulty in dating the inscribed statue from nearby Chārsada (Fig. 3) more than a hundred years earlier, especially since the Buddha from this latter site is not notably different in style from the Mamane Dherī relief.[31] Likewise, to this mature period must be assigned the vast quantity of sculpture from Jamalgarhi, one of the richest find spots in all the northwest of India. The character of the masonry at this site again suggests a date in the third century A. D., and, if this were not enough, an inscribed fragment from the monastery, again of the Saka era, is dated 209 A. D.[32] I submit as a final proof for the date of the developed style of Gandhāra a photograph taken by me at Takht-i-Bāhi showing statues of this type *in situ* against a background of masonry of the second century A. D. (Fig. 15).

It will be remembered that, on the evidence of the coins of the Indo-Parthian monarch Azes I that were found within its steatite container, the Bimarān relic casket (Fig. 1) has customarily been dated in the late first century B. C., thereby

30. Cf. E. J. Rapson, ed., *The Cambridge History of India,* New York, 1922, I, pl. XXXIV.

31. S. Konow, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Buddhabildes,* in *Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte,* 1928, p. 570.

32. S. Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions, Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum,* II, London, 1929, p. 111. Van Wijk dated this inscription 275 A. D. on the assumption that the Saka era began in 83-84 B. C. For collections of the Jamalgarhi reliefs, see J. Burgess, *The Gandhāra Sculptures,* in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry,* vol. VIII, nos. 62 and 63.

FIG. 15—*Takht-i-Bāhi: Buddha Statues. III Century A. D.*

FIG. 16—*Peshawar, Archaeological Museum: Buddha in the Indrasala Cave. 216 A. D.*

FIG. 17—*Muttra, Curzon Museum of Archaeology: Portrait Statue of Kanishka. II Century A. D.*

FIG. 18—*Paris, Musée Guimet: Buddha from Paitāva (Afghanistan). V Century A. D.*

FIG. 19—*Lucknow, Archaeological Museum: Buddha. 549-550 A. D.*

FIG. 20—*Paris, Musée Guimet: Preparations for the Great Departure. Stucco Relief from Hadda (Afghanistan). V Century A. D.*

taking its place as the earliest relic of Gandhāra art.[33] The drapery of the figures on the Bimarān casket belongs very definitely to the developed type which we have dated in the second and third centuries A. D. In confirmation of my suspicions that it belongs to a later period than that suggested by the numismatic evidence is the appearance on the pilasters separating the reliefs of the inset oblong panel that is a characteristic feature on the decoration of late Kushan and post-Kushan railing pillars.[34] Dating by coin finds in India is always a dangerous matter when we consider the long periods of time during which money continued in circulation.[35] As is so often the case in matters of Gandhāran archaeology, we are forced to defer to the opinions of the pioneer investigators of these puzzling antiquities; and so, in regard to the date of the Bimarān vase, we should do well to consider a statement made by Goblet d'Alviella: "Quand je montrai le dessin [of the reliquary] ....à trois des membres les plus distingués de la Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles, deux d'entre eux crurent y reconnaître une œuvre occidentale du dixième ou de l'onzième siècle; le troisième.... opina pour une origine byzantine."[36]

The chronology proposed for the Graeco-Buddhist school in this paper is further supported by the evidence of a corpus of terra cottas discovered by Major D. H. Gordon in a well-stratified mound at Sarī Dherī in the neighborhood of Peshawar.[37] At this site no single object of Gandhāra style was recovered at a level that could be dated earlier than the second century A. D. The lower strata were occupied, as we might expect, by objects of native Indian and of Hellenistic or Roman workmanship comparable to the terra cotta products of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire and dating from about the first century A. D. The fragments of Gandhāra sculptures in the mound at Sarī Dherī were found associated with objects in Kushan style, a factor that tends to support my contention that the Gandhāra school came into existence only shortly before the accession of Kanishka in the second century of the Christian era.[38]

In establishing the chronology of the declining years of the Gandhāra school, we are aided by inscribed statues from the ateliers of Mathura that exactly parallel the style of such images as the Buddha from Paitāva in the Musée Guimet (Fig. 18).[39] For example, the large statue of Sakyamuni, no. A5, in the museum at Mathura is inscribed with characters of the fifth century A. D.[40] Another Buddha from Katra (Fig. 19), now in the museum at Lucknow, is dated in the two hundred and thirtieth year of Gupta or 549-550 A. D.[41] Both of these Mathura images have drapery consisting of long stringlike folds as in the Gandhāra image in the Musée Guimet (Fig. 18) and

33. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

34. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 152 and fig. 22 on p. 54. Codrington describes this motif as "a degeneration of the ancient octagonal railing-pillar with upper and lower half rosettes."

35. On this point, see G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 82.

36. Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.*, p. 69.

37. D. H. Gordon, *Some Terra-cottas from Sarī Dherī, Northwest Frontier Province*, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. LXII, 1932, pp. 163 ff.

38. In this respect, I quote Sir John Marshall who, in his account of the excavation of the Dharmarajika stupa at Taxila, states, "Not a single piece of Gandhāra sculpture has been found in the Parthian or early Kushana strata and my own opinion is that these sculptures.... will be found to belong to the second or early third century A. D." (*A.S.I., A.R.*, 1912-13, p. 13.)

39. J. Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet*, Paris, 1931, pl. XII.

40. J. P. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathura*, in *Ars Asiatica*, XV, 1930, pl. XXXII.

41. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI, c.

furnish us with a dating for the late Graeco-Buddhist sculpture of this Indianized type.[42] This is a direct proof of my suggestion that except for a short period in the second and third centuries the artists of Gandhāra faithfully reflected the trends of the indigenous schools of Indian sculpture.

We may terminate our chronology with the great corpus of sculpture uncovered at Hadda in Afghanistan. In order to date the finds at this site we are forced to turn to the discoveries of Charles Masson, that mysterious and ardent numismatist, who, in the days before the first Afghan war, roamed up and down the vales of ancient Ariana, opening the topes of Kabul and the Jelalabad Valley in his search for the precious medals of the Greek kings of Bactria. In Stupa 10 at Hadda, Masson discovered a hoard of coins of the Byzantine emperors Theodosius II, Marcian, and Leo.[43] The dates of these rulers, 408-474 A. D., establish a *terminus ante quem* for the site and testify to the relations with the Western world even at this late period. With the sculpture of Hadda and the contemporary decoration of the monasteries at Jaulian (Taxila),[44] the Gandhāra school properly so called is at an end. Counter currents of influence from the workshops of Central and Eastern India have almost transformed the Indo-Greek Buddha image into the ideal norm for the representation of Sakyamuni that prevailed at Mathura and Sarnath and Ajanta. The relief of the Great Departure in the Musée Guimet (Fig. 20) reveals the infinitely soft and sinuous type of nude favored by Indian tradition combined with reminiscences of Roman naturalism in the head of the groom Chandaka. A lunette of the Birth of Buddha in the Fogg Art Museum belongs definitely to this last Indian phase of the art of Gandāhra. The stucco Buddha heads in Afghanistan and northwestern India alike are the stereotyped imitations of the formulae of the native Indian schools. The many portraits of minor divinities and lay figures that have been hailed as "Gothic" or "Baroque" may perhaps more simply be explained as a natural continuation of the Roman tradition that inspired their Gandhāran prototypes.

To recapitulate our findings, we have seen that, in its origins, the Gandhāra school was a mixture of Graeco-Roman and Indian forms that, for a period, from the second to the fourth century, gave way to a definitely classic style; this strongly Roman-Palmyrene style is submerged, in the last phase of Graeco-Buddhist art, in a completely Indian type of sculpture corresponding to the work of the Gupta period. The determination of the chronological succession of styles within the Gandhāra school has its obvious practical value in enabling us to date not only the numberless fragments of this art but also the related sculpture of the Buddhist sites in Central Asia that directly influenced the first Buddhist sculpture of China.[45]

42. The presence of this drapery formula on the Buddhist figures carved at Yün Kang (Shansi province, China) between 455 and 494 A. D. makes it certain that this type was already evolved in India in the first half of the fifth century (cf. O. Sirén, *History of Chinese Sculpture,* vol. II, London, 1925, pls. 48 and 54).

43. Wilson, *op. cit.,* 109-110.

44. J. Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila, The Stupas and Monasteries at Jaulian,* in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India,* no. 7, Calcutta, 1921, p. 20.

45. By stylistic comparison the reliefs of the Mingoi sites at Kashgar (M. A. Stein, *Serindia,* London, 1922, III, fig. 295) can be dated in the third century A. D.; the sculpture of Kyzil shows an analogy to the last phase of Graeco-Buddhist art (B. Rowland, *Chinese Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Road, Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum,* March, 1935, p. 25, fig. 3).

A BUST OF A PRELATE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

By S. A. CALLISEN

THE Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses the bust of a prelate (Fig. 1) which it acquired as part of the Altman collection in 1913.[1] The bust, 14 1/8 inches high, is of white marble, and presents the head together with a portion of the shoulders and chest of a cleric. The man is represented as tonsured. He is clean shaven and wears a rochet over a cassock. The head is turned slightly to the right and the eyes gaze out in the same direction. The lower portion is cut in the segment of a circle, and the flat and unfinished surface of the back leaves no doubt that the bust was originally intended to be placed in a tondo. The dowel hole visible in the flat surface of the back confirms this hypothesis. It is, therefore, to be considered as a high relief rather than a piece of sculpture in the round. The base on which it is now displayed is of a different type of marble and can have had nothing to do with the original.

The bust was acquired by Mr. Altman from the former Oscar Hainauer collection, Berlin. Bode[2] in his catalogue of the collection attributed it to Mino da Fiesole in the following words:

".... an interesting marble bust of a priest by Mino da Fiesole. The sharp rim of the eyeballs and the eyelids, the stiff handling of the hair, and the sharp lines of the face characterize the work of Mino. The shortening of the bust at one side is peculiar: the same thing is more strongly marked in a bust of a woman by Mino in the Louvre, and also in busts in Siena. As they all are only partly, or not at all, sculptured at the back, it is probable that they were placed in a semicircle over a door in a corner of a room, so that they would always be seen from the side."

A close examination of the bust does not, however, confirm Dr. Bode's attribution. The sculpture is in excellent condition, only a small part of the left ear lobe having been broken and repaired, and there is no indication of any tampering or rehandling. Yet the surface is dull and the finish weak, quite different from that of Mino da Fiesole's authentic works. On the other hand, the use of the drill for undercutting and in the *concha* of the ears would seem to prove beyond doubt that the bust is a genuine piece of sculpture of the fifteenth century, since spurious works seldom, if ever, are carved with the tools and in the technique proper to the period.

Aside from the deficiencies noted in the surface, it may be pointed out that Mino da Fiesole would hardly have been guilty of the lifeless and meaningless folds of the vestment or the dull rendering of the hair. The eyes, likewise, are poorly carved and the lids heavier than in Mino da Fiesole's authentic portrait busts. Apparently, we have to deal with the work of an assistant, of a pupil, or of a follower.

1. Inventory no. 14. 40. 674.

2. *Sammlung Oscar Hainauer*, London, 1906, p. 11.

Unfortunately, it is not known where Hainauer acquired the bust. He made several trips to Italy in the eighties of the last century and on these occasions purchased various works of art. But he also bought many of the objects for his collection in Paris so that the provenance of the bust remains a mystery. Bode[3] adds the following brief note in the catalogue proper of the Hainauer collection:

"The head of a priest. High relief. Portrait of a beardless man in priest's garments, with a tonsure, looking towards left. Marble, H. .385. Taken from a tomb. Mino da Fiesole."

What tomb? Where? If one only knew, it would lighten the task of a more accurate attribution considerably. And yet these are valuable hints, as will be shown presently.

There is so little reliable information concerning the many men whose style is close to that of Mino da Fiesole that it might be well-nigh impossible to make a closer attribution of the bust in question were it not for the fact that, as Bode observed, it represents a portrait of some definite individual. Following this clue, we may advance a step nearer our goal.

In the church of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, walled up in the apse are four large reliefs once forming part of the ciborium over the high altar. This ciborium (Fig. 5) was erected at the expense of Cardinal d'Estouteville between 1460 and 1474, but was taken down by Pope Benedict XIV in the middle of the eighteenth century and the pieces scattered. The original structure was an elaborate affair,[4] and not all the sculpture is the work of a single hand. The four large reliefs which concern our problem directly are, however, by far the best in quality and are the product of one man's effort.

In the relief depicting Pope Liberius tracing out the plan of the basilica on the miraculous fall of snow (Figs. 4, 7) we find the exact counterpart of the man represented in the Metropolitan bust. He stands to the left and slightly in front of the pope and points down at the snow. In every detail the two heads, in the relief and in the Metropolitan bust, are alike. Both have the same high forehead with a tuft of hair showing in front of the tonsure and above each ear. The same deep vertical crease runs down between the eyebrows to the root of the nose. The nose itself is prominent, and depressed where it joins the forehead. The eyes are deep sunk with heavy lids and well marked pupils. Both heads have a long upper lip, a large mouth framed by heavy wrinkles, a round chin, and large ears. Even the collars of the two vestments are identical, and the dull finish, so noticeable on the bust, is encountered on the relief. There can be no doubt that the same man is represented in both cases and that the same sculptor was responsible for the relief and the bust.

An old tradition has it that the prelate just discussed who takes part in the scene representing the miraculous fall of snow is none other than Cardinal d'Estouteville himself. But old traditions are far from reliable, and one might be inclined to dismiss this one also were it not confirmed by the evidence furnished by two medals of the cardinal.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 62, no. 7.

4. Paolo di Angelis, *Basilicae S. Mariae Maiorio de Urbe*, Rome, 1621, p. 93. The drawing of the ciborium is reproduced by D. Gnoli, in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, III (1890), p. 90, fig. 1, and by G. Biasotti, in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1918, p. 49, fig. 10.

FIG. 1—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Bust of a Prelate*

FIGS. 2 and 3—*Medals of Cardinal d'Estouteville by Guazzalotti and Cristoforo di Geremia*

FIG. 4—*Rome, S. Maria Maggiore: Detail from Miraculous Fall of Snow (see Fig. 7)*

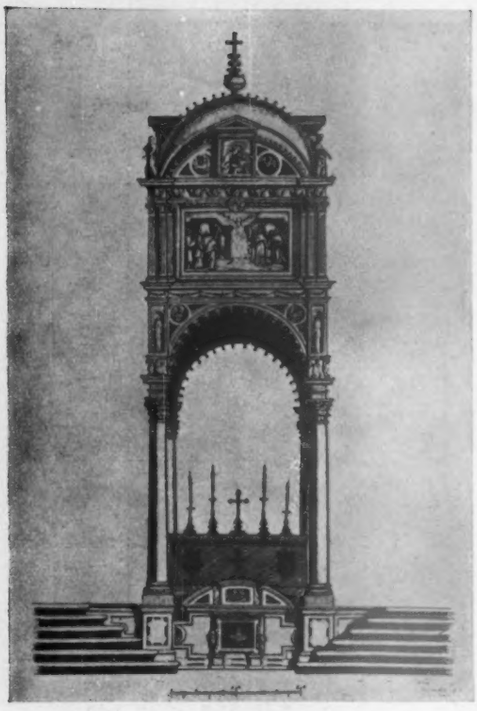

FIG. 5—*Former Ciborium over High Altar of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome*

FIG. 6—*Rome, S. Maria Sopra Minerva: Tomb of Andrea Bregno*

FIG. 7—*Rome, S. Maria Maggiore: Miraculous Fall of Snow*

The first of these (Fig. 2) has been ascribed by J. Friedländer[5] to Guazzalotti, and in this attribution he has been confirmed by G. F. Hill.[6] Cardinal d'Estouteville is represented on the obverse in profile, and the similarity to the bust in the Metropolitan Museum and the head of the prelate of the Miraculous Snow is striking. Even the rochet of the bust is like that on the medal, and every single detail of the three faces is identical. We find the same lock of hair above the forehead and ears, the same wrinkle running down to the root of the nose, and the same large ears. The nose itself is prominent with a marked depression where it joins the forehead, the upper lip is long, the mouth enframed by deep folds, and the chin round, just as has been observed in the case of the bust and the figure on the relief.

The inscription on the medal reads: "G. CARDINALIS. DEESTOTA. VILLA. ARHIE. ROTO." Since the cardinal is given the title Archbishop of Rouen (Rothomagensis), the medal must date from the years 1453 to 1461, after which latter year he is usually designated Bishop of Ostia. All three portraits of the cardinal so far considered show him as a man in his fifties. D'Estouteville having been born in 1403, it seems likely that the medal, the bust in the Metropolitan Museum and the relief in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, can hardly be very much later than the opening years of the 1460's. Still, the possibility must be borne in mind that the bust and the relief may have been inspired by the medal (or some other portrait), which might have been used by the sculptor as his model while working at a later period.

The second medal (Fig. 3) has been attributed by G. F. Hill[7] to Cristoforo di Geremia. Here Cardinal d'Estouteville is represented as a much older man, certainly in his late seventies. Since the inscription speaks of him as Bishop of Ostia, the medal must have been cast after 1461. If, on the other hand, the somewhat doubtful ascription to Cristoforo di Geremia is correct, it cannot be later than 1476, the year of the artist's death. In any event, despite the ravages of time, the cardinal's face retains many of the traits of the earlier portraits. The prominent nose with its depressed root, the large ears, and round chin are all still very noticeable. And again we find the rochet as on the earlier medal.

From the above evidence, it would appear that the prelate represented in the Metropolitan bust may be safely identified as the great cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville.

The cardinal was born in Normandy of a noble family allied to the royal house of France, in 1403. He was created Bishop of Angers in 1439, and in the same year was appointed cardinal by Eugenius IV. In 1453 (or 1455) he was made Archbishop of Rouen; in 1457, Bishop of Porto; and in 1461, Bishop of Ostia. He was also Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore, as well as Papal Chamberlain and Vice Chancellor. He died on January 22, 1483, and was buried in S. Agostino, Rome. His building enterprises in Rome were numerous, indeed. He created the Piazza Navona on the site of the ancient Circus of Severus, rebuilt S. Agostino, established several chapels in S. Maria Maggiore, had the ciborium erected over the high altar, and was responsible for various repairs on the fortifications at Ostia and Frascati.[8]

5. *Die italienischen Schaumünzen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, II, 1881, p. 233, no. 11.

6. *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1920, no. 750.

7. *Op. cit.*, no. 757.

8. Barbier de Montault, *Oeuvres complètes*, Poitiers, 1889, pp. 5-29. Ciaconius, *Vitae et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium*, Rome, 1677, III, col. 913.

If we are not to attribute the bust in the Metropolitan Museum to Mino da Fiesole, the question of authorship must still confront us. Very few informed critics today still credit Mino da Fiesole with the four large reliefs in the apse of S. Maria Maggiore and this despite the fact that a Madonna signed OPVS MINI once formed part of the ciborium. D. Angeli,[9] S. Fraschetti,[10] Hildegarde Lange,[11] W. Rolfs,[12] A. Venturi,[13] and Zappa[14] have all handled the problem most convincingly and at greater length than can be done here. Since we are interested only in the authorship of the reliefs in the apse of S. Maria Maggiore which hold the key to that of our bust, it may be simply stated that all the above critics agree as to Mino del Reame's responsibility for these sculptures. If we accept this attribution of the S. Maria Maggiore reliefs —and in default of a better theory this seems the wiser course—the bust of Cardinal d'Estouteville in the Metropolitan Museum can likewise be ascribed to Mino del Reame.

As has already been stated, were the provenance of the d'Estouteville bust known, it would be easier to suggest the use for which it was first intended. Since Mino del Reame seems to have worked principally in Rome, it is more than probable that the cardinal's portrait came originally from that city. Bode, in the Hainauer catalogue, makes the statement that it came from a tomb. D'Estouteville was buried in S. Agostino, and at present his epitaph, with a marble bust above, is to be found over the door leading to the sacristy. This memorial was erected in 1865, and according to Barbier de Montault[15] replaced one dating from 1627. But the latter, no doubt, in turn was substituted for a still earlier one of about 1483, the year of the cardinal's death. In the 1480's and 90's a fairly common type of memorial in Rome consisted of an epitaph with the bust of the deceased in a tondo. Such, for instance, marks the tomb of the sculptor Andrea Bregno (Fig. 6), in which we may observe a bust much like the one we have been discussing, placed in a circular niche. Since the lower portion of the bust of Cardinal d'Estouteville is segmental and the back unfinished, there can be no doubt that it was intended for some such use. Even the turning of the head slightly to one side is not unique and can be paralleled in certain busts now in the cloisters of S. Salvatore in Lauro.

Portrait busts, as such, were very rare in Rome during the fifteenth century, so that the object which we have been considering can hardly have been carved for that purpose alone. It may well be argued that the bust represents d'Estouteville as he appeared long before his death and hence could not have been used on his tomb. But it must be remembered that not a few of the sepulchral portraits in Rome show just this peculiarity either because the tomb was ordered before the death of the man so honored or because some medal or painting done at an earlier date served the sculptor as a model. Since the bust in the Metropolitan Museum is in such close agreement with the medal attributed to Andrea Guazzalotti, it is possible that the latter inspired the former. This would account for the fact that the bust, even if used on the tomb of an eighty-year-old man, still represented him as he appeared in his middle fifties.

9. *Mino da Fiesole*, Florence, 1905, pp. 29-35.
10. *Una disfida artistica a Roma nel Quattrocento*, in *Emporium*, XIV (1901), part 2, pp. 101-116.
11. *Mino da Fiesole*, Greifswald, 1928, pp. 42-50.
12. *Franz Laurana*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 228-236.
13. *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1908, VI, pp. 658-662.
14. *Verso Emmaus*, Milan, 1921, 86-87, 90-92, 101-102.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

SCAENOGRAPHIA

BY A. M. G. LITTLE

The Ancient Stage and Painting

THE growth of spatial suggestion in the Hellenistic structural style of wall decoration in Italy has been traced in a previous article published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.[1] It was found that in the living room a painted illusionistic technique displaced the stucco imitation of a wall of dressed stone, that a painted columnar framework was achieved, harmonizing the recessive planes of the painting with the actual limits of the floor and roof, and that gradually vista elements began to displace the sections of closed wall between the columns. These vista elements appeared to be drawn from a scenographic repertoire similar to that described by Vitruvius, comprising tragic, comic, and satyric effects.[2]

The use of such theatrical effects in the dwelling house indicates the final stage in an already highly developed scenography. Any discussion of it involves two major problems in ancient art, namely the development of the ancient theater and the method of spatial representation in Graeco-Roman painting. From the standpoint of the theater, what were the previous stages of this evolution? What is the relation of this scenography to the contemporary Italian stage, to the Hellenistic theater in the East, to the earlier Greek stage? From the standpoint of painting, can it help us to understand the nature of ancient perspective? So closely interwoven are these strands that it is difficult to separate them. In the present paper, however, only the theatrical aspect of this scenography will be discussed. The problem of ancient perspective will be reserved for later treatment.

At the outset three issues arise. To establish their theatrical derivation, it must be proved, first, that these suspected scenographic borrowings have in common a recognizable ground plan, and secondly, that this plan is conformable either to the material remains of the ancient theater or to descriptions given in literary sources of buildings which no longer survive. The third issue is the need of a method for discriminating in the paintings between that part of them which actually represents illusionistic scenery, and that which forms the architectural framework of such scenery upon the stage. Only by this devious method can the ground be cleared for discussion of ancient perspective.

The assumption that the vista elements of the style are scenographic is based upon two passages in Vitruvius.[3] In the one he specifies the inclusion of painted *scaenae*

1. *A. J. A.*, XXXIX (1935), pp. 360-371.
2. *De Architectura* V, vi, 8.
3. VII, v, 2 and V, vi, 8. E. R. Fiechter, *Die baugeschicht. Entwickelung d. ant. Theaters*, Munich, 1914, pp. 42 ff. and 102 ff.; A. Frickenhaus, *Die altgriechische Bühne*, Strasbourg, 1917, p. 48, pl. I; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *J. H. S.*, XXXIX (1919), p. 150; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, II, pp. 810, 812, 868, 872, 897; H. Bulle, *Abhand. d. Bayer. Ak. Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, XXXIII (1928), pp. 306-332.

frontes in the structural style when tracing its evolution; in the other he describes the setting of the contemporary stage. The latter passage runs as follows:

> "The *mise-en-scène* is arranged on the principle that the central doors should have decorations of a royal court, to right and left of them the guest chambers, and beyond these spaces provided for decoration. These sections of the stage are called *periaktoi* by the Greeks because there are in them triangular revolvable machines, each having three decorated faces. These machines may be turned varying the face presented before a change of play or the arrival of gods to the accompaniment of sudden thunder. Beyond these spaces are projecting wings at right angles, giving entrance to the stage on the one hand from the forum, on the other from abroad.[4] There are three kinds of *mise-en-scène,* the so-called tragic, comic, and satyric. Their decorations are different in principle and proportion; those of the tragic are sketched out with columns, pediments, statues, and other such symbols of royalty; the comic present a type made up of private dwellings and balconies, of vistas framed, as it were, in windows, on the analogy of neighboring houses; the satyric, on the other hand, are decorated with trees, caves, mountains, the whole range of country effects; they are sketched out after the landscape type of painting."[5]

Of the *periaktoi,* Pollux, in the second century A. D., writes:

> "At either side of the two doors to right and left of the central door there should be two additional doors, with machines, to which the *periaktoi* have been attached, the right showing what is outside the city, the left what is on the city side, in particular in the direction of the harbor. The machine also ushers upon the stage marine deities or anything too heavy for the *mechane* to carry. If the *periaktoi* are revolved, a change of the right alters the immediate neighborhood, a change of both the coutry (in which the action is laid)."[6]

It will be noted at once that Vitruvius is much more specific about the tragic setting than about the comic and satyric. According to his account the tragic consisted of areas of structure and three of scenery. The central door with its side pieces made up the illusion of an entrance into the peristyle of a royal palace; the *hospitalia* or guest chambers were flanked at each end by *periaktoi,* whose content he does not describe, though Pollux indicates their spatial nature.

The *hospitalia,* however, formed part of the palace and the whole setting must have been bound together into an architectural unit, representing a building somehow isolated in space. If we regard the rooms of the palace as built round a peristyle, indication must have been given of the corridor which intervened between the columns of the peristyle and the *hospitalia.* We have, therefore, to expect an extension of the central area of scenery to include a corridor on either side of the court. This gives

4. For the use of the word *versura,* cf. V, xi, 2, 3; III, ii, 3; VIII, vi, 9.

5. "Ipsae autem scaenae suas habent rationes explicitas ita, uti mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae regiae, dextra ac sinistra hospitalia, secundum autem spatia ad ornatus comparata, quae loca Graeci περιάκτους dicunt ab eo, quod machinae sunt in his locis versatiles trigonoe habentes singulares species ornationis, quae, cum aut fabularum mutationes sunt futurae seu deorum adventus, cum tonitribus repentinis [ea] versentur mutentque speciem ornationis in frontes. Secundum ea loca versurae sunt procurrentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scaenam. genera autem sunt scaenarum tria: unum quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum. horum autem ornatus sunt inter se dissimili disparique ratione, quod tragicae deformantur columnis et fastigiis et signis reliquisque regalibus rebus; comicae autem aedificiorum privatorum et maenianorum habent speciem prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione, communium aedificiorum rationibus; satyricae vero ornantus arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topoedis speciem deformati." V, vi, 8, ed. F. Krohn, Leipzig, 1912.

The grammar of the last sentence is vague. Either the subject of the verbs is *ornatus* throughout, *tragicae, comicae, satyricae* being taken as adjectives modifying a genitive singular, *scaenae,* or else *scaenae* as plural nominative must be supplied and the final *deformati* ascribed to confusion of subject for *ornantur.*

6. "παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ τῶν δύο θυρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν μέσην ἄλλαι δύο εἶεν ἄν· μηχαναὶ [δ'] ἑκατέρωθεν, πρὸς αἷς αἱ περίακτοι συμπεπήγασιν, ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τὰ ἔξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα[τὰ]ἐκ πόλεως, μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένος. καὶ θεούς τε θαλαττίους ἐπάγει καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκαχθέστερα ὄντα ἡ μηχανὴ φέρειν ἀδυνατεῖ. εἰ δ' ἐπιστραφεῖεν αἱ περίακτοι, ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν ἀμείβει τόπον, ἀμφότεραι δὲ χώραν ὑπαλλάττουσιν." *Onomasticon,* IV, 126, ed. E. Bettie, Leipzig, 1900.

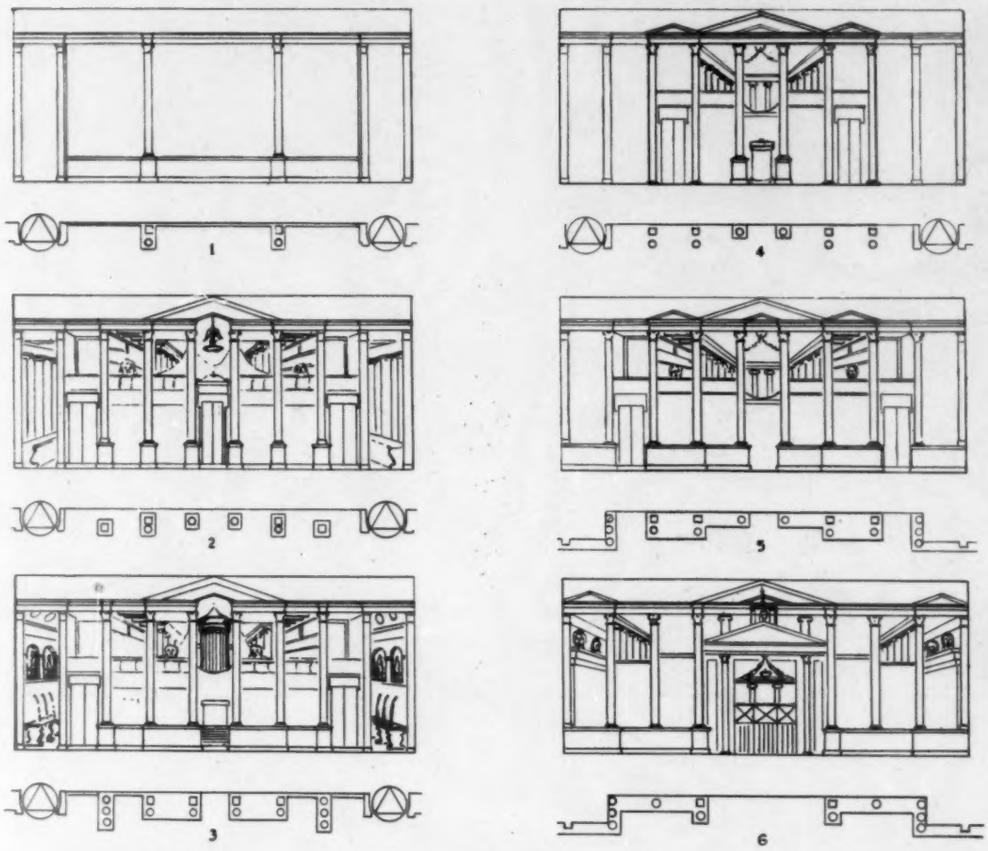

FIG. I—*Types of* Scaenae Frontes

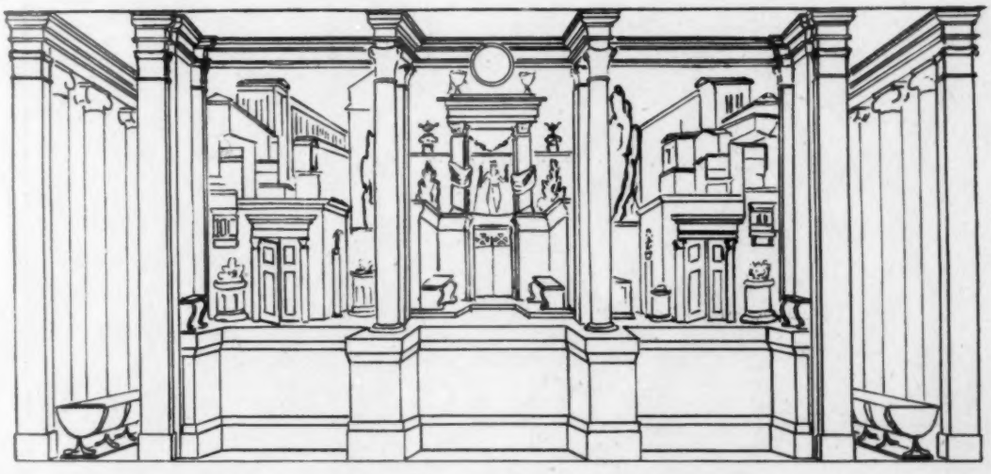

FIG. II—*Scheme of Comic Stage Set in the Labyrinth Oecus*

FIG. III—*Detail of Left Extremity of Wall of Labyrinth Oecus*

FIG. IV—*Detail of Right Extremity of Wall of Labyrinth Oecus*

us a ninefold vertical division of the stage. Thus to right and left of the central door, the divisions represented (a) a row of peristyle columns, (b) a corridor wall, (c) a door leading into the building, and (d) a spatial *periaktos*.

As to the nature of the *periaktos*, the treatment of the central area of scenery affords a clue. If the flats flanking the central door represented two converging sides of a peristyle, and if the face of the palace was decorated by columns, a permissible hypothesis would assign to the *periaktos* a similar row of converging columns, giving the illusion of a palace built about a peristyle and surrounded by porticoes and propylaea (cf. Fig. I, 2).

The Theatrical Sets of the Structural Style

In the structural style there are some twenty theatrical pieces in all, either complete or sectional sets.[7] The sectional extension of three or five units is most frequent, the complete sets relatively few. The majority of the paintings belong to the tragic group, which shows one complete set (cf. Fig. I, 6); there are three complete comic sets, and one fragmentary satyric.[8] The preponderance of fragmentary sets is explained by the gradual method of their adaptation for murals. On the short side of an oblong triclinium the triple unit of the tragic central door formed a useful filling. It is, in fact, the first motif to appear.[9] For larger rooms of varying proportions a process of selection began in which a demand for vista governed the choice of the painters. Thus, the tragic set provided three areas in which the structural surface was pierced, namely the two *periaktoi* and the central panel; the comic showed a more continuous area of garden and house vista, behind the buildings in the foreground; the satyric, a triple set of vistas seen through a portico.[10] The sets were adapted to the living room in this order: first, the tragic vista replaced the central door; then the *periaktoi* were added; next, the comic vista; finally, the satyric. In a room provided already with actual doors, it is clear that the inclusion of the *hospitalia* would have been redundant; they were therefore omitted in such cases, and may be restored to complete a set.

There are three main types of tragic set (cf. Fig. I, 2-6). All three represent a palatial propylaeum (which may be interpreted as that of a palace, or shrine, or public square) giving onto a peristyle court. In type I the peristyle is closed by doors; in type II a vista discloses a tholos shrine in the central opening; in type III the far side of the empty court is visible. The tragic sets may be grouped not only according to type but also chronologically according to stylistic evolution: group I is made up of early realistic paintings of definite *scaenae frontes*; group II shows the influence of an ornamental *contaminatio*. In the following list of tragic sets, the number of divisions excerpted from the total nine is indicated in parenthesis, while M indicates a miniature scale of painting:

7. For a list classified as to chronology and type see below.

8. The complete sets (with the exception of a comic example inset in a tragic framework from the Labyrinth oecus, cf. Fig. II) are from Boscoreale. Cf. F. Barnabei, *La Villa Pompeiana di P. Fannio Sinistore*, Rome, 1901, pls. ix, x, figs. 17, 18, for the comic; fig. 14 for the tragic.

9. In the Villa Item; cf. A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, Rome, 1931, pl. xviii, fig. 72.

10. For the fragmentary satyric cf. Barnabei, *op. cit.*, pl. ix, and L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig, 1929, fig. 73.

Group I

House	*Type I*	*Type II*	*Type III*
Villa Item	Triclinium (3) Maiuri, pl. xviii Room 16 (3) M Maiuri, fig. 72		
Labyrinth		Oecus (6) Repeated on each side wall Figs. I, 3, and V	Cubiculum (5) M Repeated on three walls *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, p. 370, fig. 3 Fig. I, 4
House of Popidius Priscus		Oecus *Periaktos* Fragment Fig. VI	Oecus *Prostas* Fragment Fig. VI
Boscoreale Villa	Summer Triclinium (5) Barnabei, fig. 13 Fig. I, 2	Cubiculum (3) Repeated on each side wall Barnabei, pl. ix, fig. 19	Summer Triclinium (9) Barnabei, fig. 14 Fig. I, 6
Villa of Diomede		Naples Fragment (5) Curtius, figs. 74-75	Oecus overlooking garden Three walls (7, 7, 5) Fig. I, 5

Group II

The *contaminatio* already visible in the Naples fragment is clearer in the unpublished paintings of the Homeric House in the Nuovi Scavi in the rooms next the bath, as in those of Reg. I, vi, 4, originally part of the same house.[11] Since the central panel is used as a frame for a painting, it is impossible to assign these paintings to any type, though their framework fits the tragic scheme. They comprise two ninefold pieces. The triclinium of the House of Obellius Firmus has two sevenfold sets treated in ornamental fashion. The House of Livia has an ornamental adaptation of a comic set within a tragic frame.[12] To type III approximates the background of Medea and the daughters of Pelias.[13] The fourth style paintings in the House of Pinarius Cerialis represent a survival of type II.[14]

Figure I illustrates the development of the columnar structure. In Figure I, 1, a skeleton of the tragic type is given. It is the framework of a comic setting in the Labyrinth oecus (cf. Fig. II). At each end is a *periaktos* framed in pillars; between these *periaktoi* is a tripartite recession equivalent to seven divisions of the tragic stage. Providing this space with two side doors and five central sections, we reach in Figure I, 2, the scheme of the Boscoreale example (Type I); in Figure I, 3, that of the side walls of the Labyrinth oecus (Type II); in Figure I, 4, the scheme of the Labyrinth cubiculum; in Figure I, 5, that of a much damaged oecus of the Villa of Diomede; and in Figure I, 6, that of another Boscoreale Villa wall—the only complete tragic set in the group. The last three form variations of Type III.

Two types of *periaktoi* are shown. One has columns rising behind a water trough or bench against a background of sky (Figs. I, 2, and II-IV. The other shows a closed corridor broken by windows giving onto trees (Figs. I, 3, and V); the same

11. Cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1933, pp. 252 ff.
12. Curtius, *op. cit.*, fig. 62. For a miniature set in the third style, *ibid.*, fig. 33.
13. *Ibid.*, fig. 170.
14. Cf. G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana*, Milan, 1929, pl. xxv.

FIG. V—*Detail of Side Wall of Labyrinth Oecus*

FIG. VI—*Detail of Wall of House of Popidius Priscus*

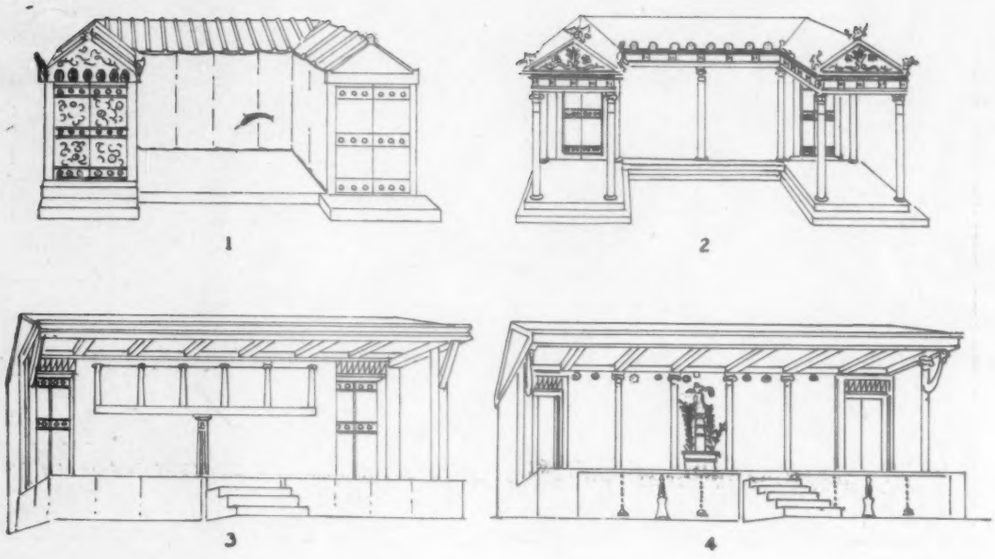

FIG. VII—*Types of South Italian Wooden Theaters*

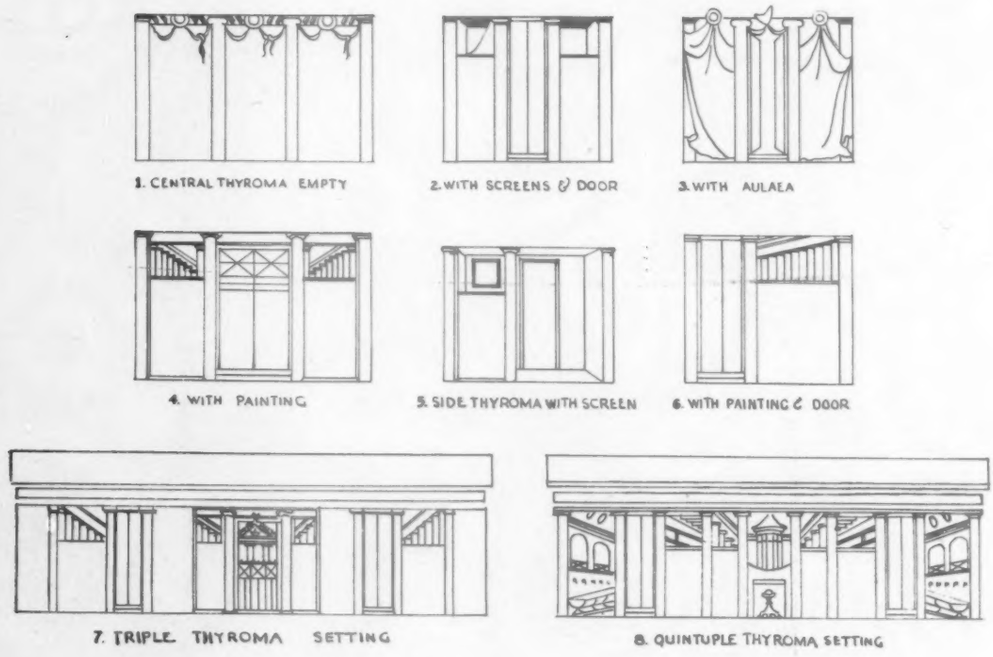
1. CENTRAL THYROMA EMPTY
2. WITH SCREENS & DOOR
3. WITH AULAEA
4. WITH PAINTING
5. SIDE THYROMA WITH SCREEN
6. WITH PAINTING & DOOR
7. TRIPLE THYROMA SETTING
8. QUINTUPLE THYROMA SETTING

FIG. VIII—*Evolution of the Thyroma*

water trough motif occupies the foot of the wall.[15] This type recurs in the oecus of the House of Popidius Priscus (Fig. VI).

The ground plans show a development in the podium as a support for the columns. While in Figure I, 1, 2 and 4, full length or plinth columns or pillars are used throughout, in the others the podium extends right and left; in Figure I, 3 and 5, for two sections; in Figure I, 6, for three, thus embracing the area of the *periaktoi,* perhaps eliminating their use.

The purpose of the diagrams is to show the possibility of translating the paintings into wooden columns arranged between framed *periaktoi.* The columns and their supports mask a background either of painted wooden flats or of wooden screens standing in front of a painted drop. The doors are practicable.

The comic set (Fig. II), invariable in plan though variable in minor details, conforms to the ninefold scheme.[16] Its triple main division is capable of further subdivision within each third into three sections of a door and two side areas. If its three doors were practicable, the foreground of the painting must have been carried out in screens placed between the columns, its vista painted on a drop.

Only two sections of the satyric piece may be taken as authentic. Each represents the outer two-thirds of a large flanking panel, two of which panels made up with the center the complete set. The water trough motif of the *periaktoi* here forms part of the rustic scene. It is to be noted that the *periaktoi* do not form part of the comic or satyric sets. They belong to the tragic.

The Development of Scenography

From the literary sources we know that scenography was a feature of both the Italian and the eastern Hellenistic stages. In fact, Vitruvius describes the painting of a *scaena* in the Ecclesiasterion at Tralles, a small public hall theater-like in plan.[17] The terms which he uses recall at once the Italian scenography. His "columnae, signa, centauri sustinentes epistylia, tholorum rotunda tecta, fastigiorum prominentes versurae" are as familiar as the "tholi, pronai, semifastigia," which Apaturius introduced into the *episcaenum.* The Khasne at Petra, framed in its narrow gorge, is a vivid translation into stone of just such a *scaena.*[18]

The novelty in the painting was its *episcaenum* or second story, in which Apaturius had striven after vista effects. To this Licymnius, a conservative mathematician, promptly objected on the ground of architectural impossibility. His eye was accustomed to vista effects only on the stage level, in the one-story *thyroma* fillings of the contemporary Hellenistic stage. Apaturius, it is clear, was faced with the

15. Figure V shows the left corner of the side wall of the oecus. The painting is broken by a low door. The left of the *periaktos* is limited by the grey face and side of a pillar, its right by three columns jutting out from the *propylaeum.* The left column is divided horizontally by a narrow band. To the right extend the corridor and *prostas* column. To the right of the pilaster a dark strip of wall limits a section of blue sky with vague indication of trees. At the foot of the fragment a row of spikes is visible similar to those in the same position in the Naples fragment.

16. The variant details discernible in this example are two Ionic columns flanking the central shrine. They appear behind the rear wall and support urns. The doors of the side buildings are partly open. A central altar should be restored as in the Boscoreale sets.

17. VII, v, 5.

18. R. Pagenstecher, *Alexandrinische Studien,* Heidelberg, 1917, pp. 36 ff.; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *J. H. S.,* 1919, pp. 159 ff.; C. Watzinger, *Petra,* Berlin and Leipzig, 1921, pp. 12 ff., figs. 17-20.

problem of extending such illusionism to cover a flat surface, like that of the lower entrance wall in the Bouleuterion at Miletus.[19] Accordingly, he reproduced the complete façade of the stage setting, and to fill the space at his disposal, repeated the vista effects in a second story.

If, however, a similar range of spatial effects was in use both on the Hellenistic and the Italian stage, their adaptation must have varied according to their framework. It is best, therefore, to consider separately the evolution of two distinct types of theater, the temporary wooden, and the permanent stone building.

In the West a distinct evolution is traceable in the small wooden theater (Fig. VII). From the South Italian vases it is possible to reconstruct the modest structures, which ultimately developed into the Roman *scaenae frons*. Figure VII, 1, illustrates the tragic type, two *paraskenia* doors framing a recessive backdrop, whose dolphin suggests symbolically the seashore.[20] The recently published Tarentine fragment shows an advance in architectural cohesion (Fig. VII, 2).[21] The *prostas* at each end is joined by a colonnade in front of the *skene* wall, which suggests the conventional representation of the tragic palace on the large Medea vase from Canosa.[22] In the Phlyakes vases, a convention of the painter has disguised the real nature of the setting. Only the section of the stage immediately behind the actors is visible, and the corresponding half must be restored. Figure VII, 3 and 4 both illustrate a development of the same plan, with an additional note of spatial suggestion: the former suggests the screens of the later tragic setting; it is perhaps tragicomic; the latter, the central vista of the later comic set with its pedestal figure.[23]

The persistence of the Italian wooden theaters is vouched for by Vitruvius.[24] In his day, he writes, it was impossible to demonstrate in a stone theater at Rome the working of the acoustic principles which were followed in provincial Italy, or in the East. They were comfortably ignored by the builders of the Roman wooden theaters, since these theaters had many screens or *tabulationes* which, with the doors of the *scaena,* threw back the voices of the actors to the audience. The first stone theater, that of Pompey, was not built till 55 B. C.; the second, that of Marcellus, only in 11 B. C. The wooden theaters continued to be erected for specific occasions. One was built by Augustus for the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B. C.[25]

The literary evidence for these wooden theaters ascribes to them both painted effects and actual columns.[26] In 99 B. C. Claudius Pulcher had introduced a "magnam admirationem picturae" to a "scaena vacuis ante pictura tabulis extenta." To this painting Pliny applies his inevitable story of its deluding even the birds. Virgil in the

19. H. Knackfuss, *Milet,* Berlin, 1908, vol. I, pt. 2, pl. v.

20. C. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Jahrbuch,* XLII (1927), pp. 30 ff., figs. 1, 2; cf. H. Bulle, *Abhand. d. Bayer. Ak. Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, XXXIII (1928), pp. 230 ff.

21. Bulle, *Eine Skenographie,* 94th Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin, 1934. The fragment is dated by Bulle in the second quarter of the fourth century B. C.

22. M. Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920, fig. 106, p. 105; L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque*, Paris, 1926, pp. 405 ff., cf. pp. 557 ff.

23. Fig. VII, 3, after the Madrid Assteas vase. Fiechter, *op. cit.*, p. 41, fig. 42. Fig. VII, 4, after the Lentini krater, *ibid.*, fig. 38. For the Phlyakes vases, Bieber, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. and 192.

24. V, v, 7.

25. Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1891, pp. 225-274.

26. Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 24. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 23. Valerius Maximus, II, 4, 6. For the wooden theaters see C. Fensterbusch, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Theatron,* III.

Georgics conjures up a vision of revolving scenes on a stage set for the triumph of Augustus. The façades of these theaters, meanwhile, were correspondingly enriched. In 58 B. C. the three-storied *scaena* of Aemilius Scaurus raised aloft a veritable forest of columns.

It is from this type of theater that the stone Roman *scaena* developed. It is clear that the simpler forms of wooden stage permitted a combination of *prostas* and painting as in the earlier Italian, but it is equally clear that with the multiplication of columns effects of vista must have been lost in the pillared maze. A standardization set in, as the columns were translated into stone, and while the ninefold division of the stage was retained, all that was left of spatial suggestion was the actual recession of the doorways.[27]

In the East scenography developed on different lines. Without entering into the complicated evolution of the *skene,* its history may be reviewed as Bulle has already summarized it.[28] The *skene* which starts from the same *paraskenia* plan as the wooden stages of South Italy, shows a gradual shrinking of the projecting *paraskenia,* between whose sheltering wings the action of the fifth century plays probably took place. Their projection formed an actual recession valuable for its acoustic properties. In the Epidaurus stage these *paraskenia* were already rudimentary. In the flat-wall stages such as those of Priene, Oropus, Ephesus, the action left the ground level and was played on a raised stage in front of *thyromata* whose proportions permitted the inclusion of acoustic screens, and large scale vista effects (Fig. VIII, 7 and 8). This type of stage enabled the previous recession of the ground stage to be reversed in painting on a flat surface. Instead of the columnar *paraskenia* projecting in front of the *skene* proper, the *periaktoi* gave the illusion of columnar effects in rear of the stage. This arrangement permitted the representation of both exterior and interior scenes. For the former, the stage could be set as the entrance to a building of spacious courts seen through the *thyromata*; for the latter, the central *thyroma* could be draped with curtains, the side *thyromata* suggesting vistas of interior court. It is from this second use of the *thyroma* that the vista elements of interior decoration originate.

In the treatment of the *thyroma* a variety of method is traceable in the Pompeian paintings (Fig. VIII).[29] The empty *thyroma* shows two interior supporting columns (Fig. VIII, 1). As filling for the *thyroma,* a columned door flanked by screens could be used (Fig. VIII, 2). For indoor scenes curtains[30] draped its outer surface (Fig. VIII, 3), or for exterior scenes a painted vista was set behind its screens (Fig. VIII, 4). The side *thyromata* permitted a screen and door (Fig. VIII, 5), or a door and side vista of columns (Fig. VIII, 6), forming with the center a perspective

27. For the development of the Roman *scaenae frons,* Fiechter, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 ff.; for the connection with painting, pp. 102 ff. Bulle, *Abhand.*, pp. 306-332. G. von Cube, *Die römische Scaenae Frons,* Berlin, 1906.

28. *Abhand.*, pp. 209 ff., p. 294.

29. Fig. VIII, 1, is based on the Satyr mosaic in the Naples Museum (Bieber, pls. 49, 50); Fig. VIII, 2 and 3, on Curtius, figs. 137, 124; Fig. VIII, 4, on Bulle, fig. 25; Fig. VIII, 5 and 6 on Curtius, figs. 134, 97.

30. These curtains are *aulaea,* not *katablemata.* The use of such curtains, according to Donatus, *De Com.*, 12, 3, was imported into Rome from the Attalid court; the *katablemata* (Pollux, *op. cit.*, IV, 131) were painted hangings or panels adapted to the requirements of the individual drama, and were let down on to the *periaktoi* to indicate such localities as a sea or river.

plan (Fig. VIII, 7). A quintuple *thyroma* setting permitted the insertion of limiting *periaktoi* (Fig. VIII, 8). But on the Italian stage it seems likely that the vista elements were framed in a projecting wooden columnar framework and mounted on the old-fashioned low stage. These columns awaited the hand of the interior decorator to transmute them in the last stages of the art from material substance into painted illusion. While the stage sets to which they had contributed were slowly being converted into stone, the scenographists found refuge in the embellishment of the dwelling house.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

Four Drawings attributed to Christoph Jamnitzer.

About six years ago the Victoria and Albert Museum acquired a group of four important sixteenth century pen-and-wash drawings (Acc. Nos. E. 665, 8-1929) which have long been attributed to Giulio di Antonio Bonasone, an Italian painter and engraver who was active at Bologna and Rome between 1531 and 1574.[1] The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid supply the themes for the designs, the legends depicted being the stories of Venus and Adonis (Fig. 1), Neptune and Proserpine (Fig. 2), Hippomenes and Atalanta (Fig. 3), and Apollo and Daphne (Fig. 4).

The drawings are long, slightly curved bands ($11\ 1/2 \times 1\ 7/8$ in.), and from their peculiar shape postulate a practical motive underlying their creation. That these designs were to be used in the decoration of an arquebus stock was the explanation given by the early owners (including such well-known and discriminating connoisseurs as C. Rolas du Rosey, Baron Roger Portalis, and, finally, A. Decour, from whose collection the drawings passed into the Victoria and Albert Museum), and this explanation has been retained by the museum.[2] Since the drawings can be arranged to form two separate units which, when placed back to back, are symmetrical and very similar in shape to many handsomely decorated gun stocks of the period, this interpretation is highly plausible.

While examining photographs of silversmith's work, I noted an elaborately chased and embossed sixteenth century German silver-gilt ewer which, with its salver, is preserved in the former Imperial Treasury of the House of Austria, now the Weltliche Schatzkammer in Vienna.[3]

The German provenance of the salver and ewer, which boast an unbroken pedigree in the treasury of the House of Austria, is established by the fact that the salver is signed: CHRISTOFERO JAMNITZER FEZIT.[4] Dr. Marc Rosenberg said of it that "*Er* ⟨Jamnitzer⟩ *setzt ihn auf seiner Trionfikanne unter die Heroen der Kunst.*"[5]

Christoph Jamnitzer was a member of the famous Nuremberg family of goldsmiths and engravers and, indeed, may be considered, in the hierarchy of that prolific family, to hold a position second only to his better known and more gifted grandfather Wenzel (1508–1585). Christoph, the son of Hans Jamnitzer, also a goldsmith (active about 1538-1603), was born in 1563, achieved the rank of master at the age of twenty-nine, and died in 1618, having insured, as a result of his marriage with Clara Eppenback in 1592, the continuation of his name and profession.

He is best known as a goldsmith, and many excellent examples of his work exist. He was also a talented draughtsman and made his own designs for objects which he intended to execute in metal. There is every reason to expect that Jamnitzer's style of drawing should mirror the current Italian influence even more clearly than his German contemporaries since he spent much time in Italy and wrote Italian fluently.[6]

Of the border which forms the rim of the salver, four panels are engraved with figure subjects which draw their inspiration from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid; the remaining decoration is fairly conventional. The four delicately engraved legendary scenes illustrate the stories of Venus and Adonis, Neptune and Proserpine, Hippomenes and Atalanta, and Apollo and Daphne.[7]

The possibility of a connection between the drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the four panels of ornament on the salver, which employ the same themes, immediately suggested itself, and a careful comparison established their relationship. The designs are exactly reproduced in the engraved border of the salver—the only addition being a strapwork cartouche separating the scenes. Not only are the four compositions identical, but the curving shape of the drawings and the border of the salver is the same. No drawings are at present known to exist which would supply the design for the conventional ornament which completes the remainder of the border, for the central portion of the salver which is decorated with an embossed representation of an Allegory of Love, or for the ewer.

The four drawings have long been considered Italian and with apparent justification, for there is no doubt that a strong Italian influence is present. With this Italianate quality as a starting point, early critics were doubtless influenced by the fact that one of the

1. Victoria and Albert Museum, *Review of the.... Acquisitions .... 1929* (London, 1930), 27 illus.

2. *Sale Catalogue A. Decour Collection* (Hotel Drouot, Paris, April 10, II, 1929), II, Lot No. 26, illus.

3. Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen* (Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurter, 1922-28), III, No. 3839, illus. pls. 86, 87. For other illustrations also consult: Quirin von Leitner, *Die Schatzkammer des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna, A. Holzhausen, 1882), pl. 40; available in an English edition: Leitner, *The Leading Works of Art Contained in the Treasury of the Imperial House of Austria* (Vienna, 1884), pl. 40; and, Albert Ilg, *Album von Objecten aus der Sammlung Kunstindustriellen Gegenstände des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna, J. Löwy, 1895, pl. XVII).

4. Marc Rosenberg, *Jamnitzer alle erhaltenen Goldschmiedearbeiten, verlorene Werke, Handzeichnungen* (Frankfurt am Main, Joseph Baer & Co, 1920), pls. 73, 74, 75. Marc Rosenberg reproduces eighteen examples of silversmith's work which either bear Christoph Jamnitzer's stamp or are attributed to him. Eight drawings and one engraved print after Jamnitzer reproduced there show Christoph to have had talent as a draughtsman and designer and substantiate Rosenberg's statement that Christoph was a master in drawing composition.

5. *Ibid.*, p. X.

6. *Op. cit., passim.*

7. The prototypes of the representations have yet to be determined; for it is improbable that the designs are wholly original. It may be noted, on the other hand, that Wolfgang Stechow, who mentions these drawings as ascribed to Bonasone, records that the kneeling type of Daphne is very rare (see W. Stechow, *Apollo und Daphne* (Leipzig, 1932), 44, note 1). A comparison of the Apollo and Daphne composition with Stechow's plates shows some superficial similarities, but nothing really conclusive. [M. D. Henkel, *Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen im XV. XVI. XVII. Jahrhunderts* (vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1926-27), gives other valuable source material based on the early illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*, but the compositions of Jamnitzer do not appear to have been borrowed bodily from contemporary prints or illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*.

drawings, that of Apollo and Daphne (Fig. 4), bears the signature "Bonasone."

In considering this Italianate style one must take into account the strong Italian influence which pervaded the greater part of Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the fact that Jamnitzer spent considerable time in Italy. The inscription "Bonasone" (Fig. 4) is obviously by another hand since the ink used is of a different color, the pen stroke cruder, and the calligraphic style indicates a considerably later date than that which the limit of Bonasone's life (1574) would allow.[8]

If, as it appears, the inscription was the principal basis for the attribution to Giulio Bonasone, the question now arises as to whether the drawings themselves, without the signature, still support this conclusion, or, indeed, can be assigned to any other Italian draughtsman of the late sixteenth century.

A comparison between a drawing generally conceded to be by Giulio di Antonio Bonasone, such as the pen-and-wash design for a wall decoration in the Uffizi, and the designs here discussed affords illuminating divergencies in treatment.[9] Our master models his figures, giving to them three-dimensional effect, the muscles stand out as if in relief, and he achieves a satisfactory proportion and articulation in his actors. Drapery is represented by wiry accented lines, and the "temperament" of the drawings is definitely German in their story-telling element, accuracy of microscopic detail, directness in presentation and nervousness of tempo. Bonasone, on the other hand, uses a flatter style, indicating the muscles but slightly. He fails to imbue his figures with a feeling of life, and they lack sound anatomical construction. Moreover, the drapery is handled in thin unaccented lines and the "temperament" is typically Italian in the *contrapposto* of the atlantes and the somewhat sickly emotionalism of the drawing as a whole.

On comparing the drawings for the salver with other signed examples of Jamnitzer's silversmith work, we find certain characteristics common to both. These are a predilection for movement, a love of microscopic detail, which extends in the case of landscape to the use of atmospheric perspective, and the delineation of characteristic motives.

A set of four platters illustrating the story of Phaeton, once in the collection of Mr. F. Uthemann at St. Petersberg, affords an excellent base for comparison.[10] Jamnitzer's love of depicting distance and atmospheric perspective and his use of microscopic detail are as clearly seen in the platters as in the drawings. Characteristics of delineation show noticeable similarities. Trees, foliage, rushes, and far-off hills are treated in the same manner. This is evident, too, in the rendering of the horses drawing Phaeton's chariot, which parallels that of the horses in the Proserpine design (Fig. 2).

While the analyses with which we have been concerned up to now would point to Jamnitzer as the author of these designs, conclusive proof is afforded by the monogram "C. I." with which each of the four drawings is signed. This monogram is drawn with the same ink as is used throughout the designs and appears in the drawing of Venus and Adonis (Fig. 1) on the bank at the extreme lower right-hand corner. It is so lightly sketched as to appear almost part of the composition and is seen more clearly on the right edge of the drawing of Neptune and Proserpine (Fig. 2) and again in the lower right-hand corner of the designs of Atalanta, and Apollo and Daphne (Figs. 3, 4).

Apart from the suggested re-attribution of the four drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum which may be considered among the finest known drawings by Christoph Jamnitzer, this paper disproves the earlier theory that they were designs for the decoration of an arquebus stock, and records their original use as the working patterns for the ornamentation of Jamnitzer's signed masterpiece in the Imperial Treasury of the House of Austria.

HERMANN W. WILLIAMS, JR.

8. Dr. E. Panofsky, who kindly read and criticized this paper, to its considerable improvement, suggested to me that the inscription "Bonasone" may be a collector's inscription, and that another explanation would be that its author wanted to call attention to Bonasone's engraving of Apollo and Daphne (B. 157) which is unbelievably indecent. It is noteworthy that the inscription does not occur on one of the other drawings.

9. Pasquale Nerino, Ferri, *Catalogo riassuntivo di disegni dalla Galleria degli Uffizi* (Rome, 1890), p. 285. Alinari, Catalogue, *Disegni di antichi maestri*, 1920, p. 16.

10. Illustrated: Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pl. 69.

L'ARTE DI AGNOLO GADDI. *By Robert Salvini. 179 pp.; 40 illustrations. Florence, 1936.*

Among the more important painters of the Trecento the vaguest and least definite figure was certainly that of Agnolo Gaddi. Dr. Salvini's welcome little monograph, and the various preliminary articles[1] have served in a very great degree to remove this lacuna in our knowledge of the Trecento, and to bring this hitherto little studied artist into line with his better known contemporaries.

Unlike the majority of recent monographs, the value of this little book lies in the text, and not in the somewhat meagre supplement of illustrations, which economy of publication has kept down to a minimum. This is as it should be; in these days of big photographic libraries we need good texts rather than elaborate picture books.

The written matter is clearly put out, well reasoned, has a real tag of originality, and shows honest independent thought. It is a very creditable achievement for a first book. In these pages we find Agnolo Gaddi more interesting than we had noticed, and also more comprehensible. His development is by no means a simple one, and the author has undoubtedly seen truly when he gives us the relatively early frescoes in the choir at S. Croce as the apex of Agnolo's creation. If unfairly judged as the last member of a progression which leads from Giotto down through Taddeo to Agnolo, they may seem to merit the adverse criticism which has been meted out to them; but if examined in and for themselves, with the author's sensitive appreciation of what seem to have been the painter's aims, then they are certainly the most interesting of Agnolo's productions, while they are also the embodiment of a very important phase in the development of Florentine painting – the incipient Gothic.

The tentative reconstruction of the juvenile period

1. *Opere inedite di Agnolo Gaddi*, in *Rivista d'Arte*, XVI (1934), pp. 29-44; *In Margine ad Agnolo Gaddi*, in *Rivista d'Arte*, XVI (1934), pp. 205-208; *Per la cronologia ed il catalogo di un discepolo di Agnolo Gaddi*, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXIX (1935-6), p. 279, etc.

FIG. 1—*Venus and Adonis*

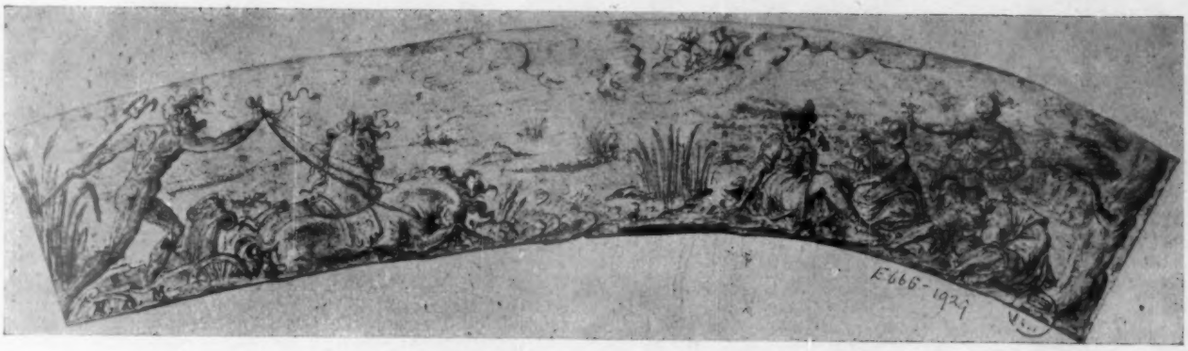

FIG. 2—*Neptune and Proserpine*

FIG. 3—*Hippomenes and Atlanta*

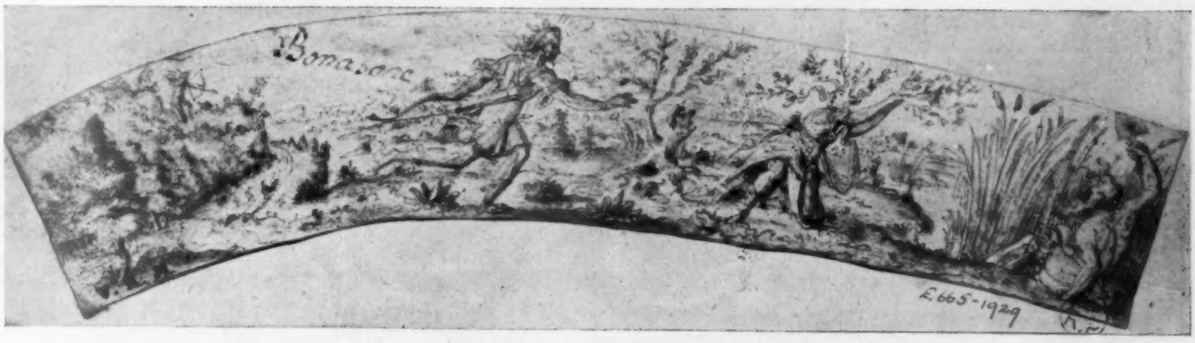

FIG. 4—*Apollo and Daphne*

London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Drawings by Christoph Jamnitzer

FIG. 1—*London, National Gallery: Noli me Tangere, by Agnolo Gaddi*

FIG. 2—*Rome, Vatican: Assumption, by Agnolo Gaddi*

of Agnolo in his early panels is another important feature of this monograph. The restitution of certain works formerly conceded to him, but recently doubted, such as the Madonna of Mercy in the Florence Academy, seems to be logical. To their slender number might be added, we think, the Wagner Noli me tangere,[2] a recent addition to the National Gallery (Fig. 1), which comes very close, indeed, to some of those indicated by the author—and above all to the Vatican Assumption (Fig. 2, compare the Magdalen's profile with that of the lowest angel on the right).

The chief problem remaining to be solved is the mysterious lack of Madonna pictures in the oeuvre of Agnolo, and on this point hinges the implicit controversy as to whether "Compagno d'Agnolo" (now no longer to be confused with Starnina) exists or not as a separate entity. For Dr. Salvini he exists most definitely, and is always consistently inferior to Agnolo, while Mr. Berenson in the recent lists merges "Compagno d'Agnolo's" personality with that of Agnolo himself, relegating the poorer members of the "Compagno" group to the level of school production. The reasonableness of Mr. Berenson's position lies in the existence of several links, works of better quality, which seem to lie between Agnolo and his "Compagno." We refer to the Munich Saints with their predelle and the Chiesa Madonna (now Contini), with hers. Dr. Salvini coasts round this difficulty by making an intermediate personality, that of "Pseudo Compagno," who is in effect a sort of better self to Compagno, and who is to be held responsible for these border works, which form the justification of Mr. Berenson's position.

This too-easy solution is somewhat arbitrary and we do not feel satisfied as to the "Pseudo Compagno's" real existence, any more than of that of the "Maestro Vaticano," who, with his mixture of Gaddesque and Gerinesque elements, seems to lack cohesion. As regards the separation or non-separation of "Compagno," the whole matter hinges on the authorship of the above-mentioned works, and we feel that the answer to the conundrum is yet to be sought.

The other minor personalities sketched for us by Dr. Salvini, or enriched by his researches, Meo da Fruosino, Pietro da Miniato, etc., are satisfactory; but the merits of the book lie in the excellent delineation and highly intuitive valuation of the central figure rather than in the minutiae of attribution to this or that among Agnolo's following. In this latter aspect there is room for correction and improvement, but in all its more essential aspects we welcome the book as a valuable addition to our studies in the Florentine Trecento.

EVELYN SANDBERG VAVALÀ

2. The author did not ignore this work but dismissed it as Gerinesque with Gaddesque influence.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF H. H. RICHARDSON AND HIS TIMES. *By Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr. 311 pp.; 145 ills. New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1936.*

It is fifty years since Richardson's death, and forty-eight since the appearance of Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer's monograph on him. Due more to our natural tendency to stereotype the picture of a man and his work than to any essential shortcomings of Mrs. van Rensselaer's able study, the past generation has seen the growth of a Richardson legend somewhat as follows: (1) that confronted by the aesthetic confusion and flimsy construction of nineteenth century architecture Richardson turned for refuge to the Romanesque style of southern France and Spain; (2) that beginning with his "first masterpiece," Trinity Church, he applied this style also to such things as libraries, railroad stations, and warehouses; (3) that this "Romanesque Revival" was something new under the sun; and (4) that although it achieved a tremendous popularity for a decade or so, Richardson's style finally died because it was too heavy and not essentially American.

It seems to me that the chief importance of Professor Hitchcock's book is in demonstrating conclusively that this legend is in part woefully incomplete and in part totally erroneous, and in substituting for it so scholarly and so complete a picture of Richardson's work and significance that we may rely on it for future estimates of the man. The book is not a biography; indeed, the biographical material is cut to almost nothing, since this aspect of Richardson was so ably handled by Mrs. van Rensselaer. Instead, the book is "a study of Richardson's architecture in the light of the setting in which he worked," an attempt to "portray the architectural world in which he was educated, and the world of the seventies and eighties in which his work was done."

The study of the architectural backgrounds of Richardson's youth in this country and of his years at Paris occupies the entire first part of the book. The task of recreating the tangled skein of mid-nineteenth century styles, whims, and fashions, and particularly of placing these with reference to what buildings Richardson actually saw or might have seen, was one requiring a knowledge of nineteenth century architecture, and particularly of chronology, such as is commanded, I suspect, by few if any others than Professor Hitchcock. In reading this section one is hard put to it to follow the sequence and differentiation of such style variants as "Cardboard Pointed," "Tudor Cottage," "Victorian Fourteenth Century Gothic," "Italianate High Victorian Gothic," "Round-Arched Victorian Gothic," "Italian Villa," "Barryesque High Renaissance," and so forth, particularly without illustrations, yet in identifying these fashions and attaching them to specific dated monuments, Professor Hitchcock has done a great deal to clarify a confused epoch. Some may feel that the material presented here is of sufficient importance to warrant treatment (and illustration) by itself rather than as a preface to a work on Richardson, but until a complete history of nineteenth century architecture is written we may feel grateful for this much here.

The treatment of French architecture of the Second Empire is also illuminating, especially as it reveals that Garnier's Opera and the Nouveau Louvre are not to be taken as typical of the work of this period in Paris, and that the "French Empire" of our own Brown Decades bears little relation to the accepted mode in France. What was important, and what influenced Richardson, was in essence the rational order of the French classical tradition, its disciplined

planning and expression of materials. Again and again throughout Richardson's career the undisciplined picturesqueness of contemporary English and American architecture threatened to overthrow this French inheritance, but as the Field Building shows, failed in the end to do so.

One other aspect of the contemporary background Professor Hitchcock brings to bear on the interpretation of Richardson's development with singular effectiveness: what was being illustrated in the French and English architectural magazines which Richardson saw, and in the archaeological books which were published and which Richardson obtained. It is through this analysis that much light is shed on Richardson's own buildings.

The second part of the book, dealing with Richardson's early works in this country, need not be commented on here, except to say that most of the material was not contained in Mrs. van Rensselaer's study, and is therefore important for a new understanding of Richardson's development. Richardson was already in the late sixties losing the style in which he was trained in Paris, and was "clearly attracted toward the mediaeval and the picturesque," but he retained the sense of architecture as sound and ordered building, and by 1870 was ready to create his own personal style, or rather to resume a creative attitude toward style. "In other words, he turned the tide of stylistic disintegration, at that time only a little less sweeping than in the fifties, and began the process of reclaiming the solid architectural land which had been so largely frittered away by the wavelets of Late Romantic exoticism and pure vagary." From this point on we are on more familiar ground.

What was Richardson's developed style? "Richardson Romanesque" is so familiar a phrase that we unconsciously accept it as covering the matter. Professor Hitchcock's study brings out the following illuminating points: first, that Richardson's style was only very slightly Romanesque; second, that his use of Romanesque was by no means a new thing in the nineteenth century as certain textbooks would have us believe; third, that it cannot accurately be called a "revival;" and fourth, that what came to be known and widely imitated as "Richardson Romanesque" was not Richardsonian in the best sense at all, but a feeble echo of inferior "shop-pieces" done in the last years of Richardson's practice.

Richardson did, admittedly, acquire some material from the Romanesque of southern France and Spain. He used on Trinity, and on a preliminary design for Austin Hall, portals adapted from those at St. Gilles; at Pittsburgh, portals taken probably from Gensac; he frequently employed Auvergnat marquetry; and on Trinity, of course, he used—or rather permitted Stanford White to put over a slick adaptation of—the tower of Salamanca. But on the other hand, the characteristic Richardsonian quarry-faced masonry is not specifically Romanesque; there are strong reminiscences of late French Gothic in his roof lines and dormers; and most of his carved detail, according to Hitchcock, is taken from contemporary English versions of the Gothic. Most striking of all, the characteristic Richardsonian round arch, as used so frequently for portals, is not Romanesque but Syrian Christian. Richardson had de Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale* in his library, and when one thinks, for instance, of the façade of Tournianin, one sees where he got a great many of his details.

This use of the earlier mediaeval styles was by no means new in Richardson's time. Von Gärtner and Hübsch had employed the Romanesque in Germany as early as the thirties; it had appeared in this country before the Civil War in such things as the Lombard railroad station at Providence, and in the work of Eidlitz and Schulze; when Richardson was in Paris the official academic tradition favored the Romanesque over the Gothic, and even the Syrian was used in certain churches. In view of these facts, Richardson's chief claim to fame as having "revived" the "Romanesque" is seen to be somewhat dubious. He was never a mediaevalist in the way that the elder Upjohn had been, or in the way Ralph Adams Cram was to be later. In fact, "he was not a revivalist in any proper sense of the word at all. Richardson, in developing his personal style, was ready to find inspiration in any part of the past that appealed to him. The Romanesque was perhaps the most useful." But the result was essentially Richardsonian and nineteenth century, not Romanesque, or Syrian, or Gothic, or even Queen Anne, which also influenced him.

One of Professor Hitchcock's signal contributions is in establishing a canon of what may be considered authentically Richardsonian buildings and what may be considered inferior shop-pieces, on which during his last years Richardson had little time or effort to spend. He then proceeds to demonstrate that the "Romanesque Revival" architecture that followed in Richardson's wake in such a devastating flood was based for the most part on the shop-pieces, and that "the practice of a school was based largely on its vices, while its virtues.... were hardly emulated at all." Thus, it comes about that "'Richardson Romanesque' was hardly ever Richardsonian," and that it "all but cancelled the positive effect on American architecture of his entire previous activity." We are too apt to accept the kind of elephantiasis in masonry which characterizes the work of the school as an authentic reflection of Richardson's own architecture, entirely forgetting such achievements as Sever Hall, Trinity Church rectory, or the wooden houses.

Perhaps the most important part of the book is its exposition of Richardson's relatively unknown domestic architecture in wood. Here if anywhere was Richardson's highest achievement and greatest significance. Taking the tradition of the American shingled houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, enriching it with the best of the English Queen Anne, and welding the whole into a style intimately felt as part of the landscape, Richardson produced the first really American domestic architecture of the nineteenth century, and there was nothing Romanesque about it at all. The whole development can be traced for the first time in Hitchcock's careful and important treatment of the theme.

I have stressed what seem to me the more important contributions of the book. It goes without saying that there are many more points of interest impossible to discuss at length here. Among them might be mentioned the use of many of Richardson's preliminary sketches showing the development of various buildings:

I found the evolution of Trinity illuminating, and also arrived at a firm conviction that the second scheme for Austin Hall was far superior to the executed design. Seeing photographs of the Ames Gate Lodge at North Easton was like discovering a new star of the first magnitude. The discussions of Richardson's lack of concern with cast-iron construction, of his steel bridge in the Fenway, and of his Dairy Building and railroad car designs for the Boston & Albany were all of interest.

But it would be academically improper to be entirely complimentary. The greatest lack of the book is a chronological list of monuments, which is of importance because there are some changes and additions to Mrs. van Rensselaer's list. I myself dislike chapter titles consisting only of dates—and overlapping dates at that; this seems excessively academic. There are some typographical errors in the book, and figure 86 seems to have been omitted completely. "John Shepley" should read "George F. Shepley" throughout. I am informed by Professor Kenneth Conant that the Baptist Church at Newton, Mass., published in figure 116 is not Richardson's, but one designed by John Lyman Faxon. Since it was described in the text as resembling the work of "some Western imitator who grasped only the worst idiosyncrasies of Richardson's developed style" and its resemblance to the Dartmouth College Chapel by Faxon noted, we must at least acknowledge the author's keen eye for style.

In conclusion, it might be remarked that the book is difficult reading, especially for one without some background in American architecture, but that it well repays the effort. Any new interpretation of Richardson would have had its value; such an interpretation as this, backed by a profound knowledge of the period, an amazing eye for style, and thorough scholarship in obtaining the facts of a difficult story, is manifestly of the first importance.

HUGH S. MORRISON

MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN EMBROIDERIES FROM THE COLLECTION OF MRS. F. H. COOK. *By A. J. B. Wace. 56 pls. in color, 79 in collotype, a map, and figs. London, Halton, 1935. 2 vols. 10 pounds, 10 shillings.*

This work is a catalogue of an English private collection of embroideries from Algiers and Morocco, the Greek Islands and Epirus, Turkey, the Caucasus, Persia, Turkestan, and India. The collection is not large. The catalogue includes only one hundred and twenty pieces in all, but care and fine discrimination have been shown in the selection of these; and a wide variety of types has been included. Some of the pieces were bought as long ago as the early eighties by Frank Henry Cook who, during his many years of residence in the Near East and in Egypt, built up the collection to its present size and quality. The book is dedicated to his memory by his widow, Beatrice Cook.

The embroideries of the Mediterranean and the Near East have been known for years to collectors and to museums. They are essentially a home craft, made by women for their trousseaux and households; but their richness of color and the beauty and variety of their designs have made them greatly sought after. Until recently little has been known about their places of origin or their history. Trustworthy information has been sadly lacking and literature on the subject has been scant. It is, therefore, with great interest that we welcome a fresh contribution to the literature of this subject.

In the commentary preceding the catalogue proper, Mr. Wace speaks of the inherent difficulty in the precise cataloguing of this material because of the uncertainty as to correct provenance and the persistent misapplication of names. He discusses the characteristics of the main groups and attempts to point out links between them. The color schemes are analyzed and discussed—the alternate and dominating color system used by the Greek Islands of the Archipelago, the definite preponderance of one or two color schemes without apparent system in the Algerian embroideries, and the range of not more than six colors for Asia Minor.

Designs or patterns are also analyzed and illustrations are given in the text of the prevailing motifs of design in the Archipelago, the King, the Queen, and the Glastra patterns, the Rose design which appears in varying forms in Turkey, and the Pomegranate or Artichoke motif which appears in Asia Minor embroideries.

A detailed discussion and analysis follows on the embroideries under their respective places of origin giving types, designs, colors, stitches, and materials, and showing how the pieces were used in the households and in costume. The proportion of Greek pieces in the collection is far greater than that of pieces from other countries and the chapter on these embroideries includes more types and is far more detailed. Mr. Wace has long been a student of embroideries of the Greek Islands. During his residence of many years in the British School at Athens he traveled extensively and studied the embroideries in their own environment.

The catalogue proper is concise and lucid. Full details are given on materials, stitches, and color, and descriptive notes on the designs. Comparisons and analogies are drawn showing similarities and differences between the embroideries of the same country. Mention is made of collections to which individual embroideries previously belonged. Each piece in the collection is fully illustrated by the plates that accompany the text. These are of excellent quality, the color plates reproducing the colors closely and giving detailed sections which show the stitches as well as the design and color.

A map of the Mediterranean and the Near East with an inset map of the Greek Islands accompanies the text and is clear and helpful. The volume of text is well and fully indexed.

Mr. Wace's catalogue is a valuable contribution to literature on embroidered textiles. He has brought to the study the attributes of scholarship—scrupulous accuracy, searching analysis and careful deduction, and above all, deep interest in his material. His footnotes are numerous, with references to all authorities quoted. These notes furnish a full bibliography on the subject. Sources of information are available to Mr. Wace which unfortunately are closed books to most of us. I have reference, particularly, to a special study by Mrs. Angelike Chatzemichale on

Skyros, which, unfortunately, is published only in modern Greek.

All those concerned should be congratulated on the extremely fine publication. The paper, type, and form of the book are of the finest quality; the plates, both collotype and colored are remarkably beautiful; and the ornaments and tailpieces, which reproduce motifs from the embroideries, add a touch of gaiety to the pages.

GERTRUDE UNDERHILL

TAPESTRY, THE MIRROR OF CIVILIZATION. *By Phyllis Ackerman. Oxford, University Press, 1933.*

Artistic creation being an aspect of culture, each work of art a precipitate of the civilization of its period, the understanding of such an object requires a grasp of its cultural relations. In this spirit Phyllis Ackerman has drawn a longitudinal section through the history of the art of tapestry, and given it the appropriate title, *Tapestry, the Mirror of Civilization.*

While Heinrich Göbel devoted six volumes in his valuable *Wandteppiche* to the study of historical sources, the survey of existing objects, and the development of the art in the various European countries, Dr. Ackerman has undertaken to compress the abundant material into one volume. She has therefore been forced into the most concise presentation and limited to the most important objects. Yet under the quiet competence of her account, we are aware of her enthusiasm for and acquaintance with her subject, which often cause her to linger over seeming incidentals. But her task has been to reveal the history of tapestry as an aspect of the history of civilization and thus includes many questions peripheral to the main theme. As the subject matter woven into the tapestries represents a contribution of the contemporary culture, she has given much attention to iconography and the history of motives.

The lay-out of the book is excellent. A survey of the history of tapestry in Egypt and Greece, supplemented by sections on the extra-European schools, China, Mesopotamia, Peru, and Mexico, forms the substructure on which rests the significant mass of European mediaeval material, the tapestry production of France, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland receiving proportionate treatment. The discussion of the embroidered tapestry of Bayeux, taken as surrogate in the absence of woven pieces of its period, is an important contribution. The fifteenth century and Renaissance are then presented with their cultural phenomena. The remaining superstructure is formed by the Baroque with its important centers in France, England, and the Low Countries, and with its enlistment of famous painters as designers; there only remains to crown the whole history a glimpse into the nineteenth century. Two appended chapters deal with the technique and aesthetics of tapestry, and with collectors and collecting in general.

Where so much detail has been crowded in, another occupied with the same material can readily suggest additions, improvements, and explanations, but little would be gained thereby. For it is not the purpose of such a manual to exhaust the subject but to formulate it. This purpose is best served by a good and not too abundant selection of examples. The choice of illustrative material, happily including rare and less familiar pieces, is a special merit of the book, along with the author's vivid style and the careful manufacture.

BETTY KURTH

ART IN THE WESTERN WORLD. *By David M. Robb and J. J. Garrison. xxvi, 708 pp.; 370 figs.; 8vo. New York and London, Harper, 1935.* $ *3.*

The two young authors present a textbook which is well arranged, well illustrated, intelligently and conscientiously written. In the preface they express their purpose "to fill in some measure the need that exists for a discussion in relatively non-technical terms of the artistic tradition of the Occident." And they state that their approach is, for the most part, historical. "Art is approached as corollary to the development of thought and civilization, as a commentary upon experience...."

The material is presented in three major divisions: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. Such an arrangement is valuable because it stimulates appreciation of the essential characteristics of each art and enables the reader to follow the development of each without being confused by the developments in the other two. Analogies between the arts of one period or time are, of course, pointed out, but very briefly. Architecture is given 267 pages, sculpture 176, and painting 220. That the reader may easily link the great works of art of one period, a chronological table is provided. A ten-page glossary and a selected bibliography also augment the text. The many illustrations are necessarily small, but each is placed on the same page with the text referring to it, a real favor to the general reader. The verbal descriptions of the illustrations are clear.

At the beginning of each major division there is a simple exposition of the materials, basic techniques, and principles of the art. That is followed by a series of chapters progressing in historical sequence from very brief descriptions of prehistoric art to descriptions of the masterpieces of Renaissance and modern times, accompanied by an analysis of their intellectual, emotional, and social backgrounds, and with liberal attention to contemporary art in Europe and America. Throughout the book modern art is occasionally juxtaposed to that of preceding periods, in order to emphasize the difference or similarity in the thought patterns and resulting art products.

"The comprehensive complexity" and "frustration" of modern life are often mentioned or implied. The contrast between the mediaeval and the modern mind is stressed; in regard to which Professor Morey writes, in a foreword, "a result of this is the sounder estimation of the Renaissance and subsequent periods."

The authors are art historians rather than judicial or appreciative critics. They indulge in no vague, wordy raptures. They do not wholly damn nor wholly praise any period or any individual artist. Facts and discriptions are set down in objective prose of a kind which does not make great literature but which is to be admired in a textbook. When the authors pause for a moment to philosophize, their resulting generalizations are usually too simple to be accurate, but they are always suggestive.

The book is not dated by any peculiar slant on modern art or on any previous art. It is "center"

in regard to modern art. Rivera and Orozco, however, are commended; and in contrast to them is mentioned the "European School which avoids the unavoidable [comprehensive complexity of modern life] in a spiritually exhausted estheticism."

The difficult task of compressing the history of art in the Occident into six hundred or so pages has been well effected by picking out the most representative monuments of the various arts, and by demonstrating the historical continuity of the developments in which they were produced.

NANCY MILLETTE

PLASTIC REDIRECTIONS IN 20TH CENTURY PAINTING. *By James Johnson Sweeney.* THE MEANING OF UNINTELLIGIBILITY IN MODERN ART. *By Edward Rothschild.* SEURAT AND THE EVOLUTION OF "LA GRANDE JATTE." *By Daniel Catton Rich. Publications of the Renaissance Society, at the University of Chicago, in their series* STUDIES OF MEANING IN ART. *Chicago, University of Chicago Press.* $ *1.50 each.*

The most recent publication of the Renaissance Society is the fresh little account of Seurat (1859-1891) at work on La Grande Jatte, his masterpiece in the Art Institute of Chicago. Those interested in the recently risen star of this important French artist, who died unfortunately at thirty-two years, will be happy to discover in this booklet nearly fifty drawings and painted sketches bearing on the Art Institute painting. Sketches for the monkey, the seated woman, the dog, and so on, are all delightfully and convincingly here, their technique of conte crayon on Ingres paper greatly facilitating reproduction. The reproduction of the numerous tiny oil sketches on panels (c. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ in.), also because of technique, vigorously applied strokes, seems to translate quite well the originals. The nine details of the Grande Jatte itself, however, give varying notions of tone and style. The foliage in pl. LI, perhaps overexposed for green, is dull and blackish; pls. LII and LIV, lacking in green sensitivity, do not record characteristic brush strokes in all parts. The photographic task, of course, could not have been more difficult. Perhaps, however, larger cuts nearly bled to page edges, making for better reproduction, might have been excusable in such a small booklet, the resultant increased pleasure and value compensating for loss in dignity and uniformity.

In the amusing sketches, for the most part studies for individual figure motifs, one confirms notions of Seurat's progression from an "impression," to the "more abstract and intensely felt attitude" of the finished figures. The drawings, says Rich, can never be put in chronological order since only the painter knew in what order they were made; and confusing as well are the oil sketches, some of which seem to have been reworked at later times—to judge by differences in technique. But even so, Rich makes bright suggestions of chronology (for example, of pls. XIX, XX, I).

Curiously enough for the great painting, as a whole, one discovers no evolution in the sense of real compositional change. The earliest known study for La Grande Jatte remains the picture of 1884, "A Study for 'A Sunday on La Grande Jatte'." Correcting note 11, p. 11, to refer to p. 58, no. 48, we discover this painting, now owned by Mrs. Chester Beatty, London, to be a landscape, empty of figures, but identical in plan to that of the final work. Upon this stage the figures would seem to have been arranged; though their conception might have antedated the "study" of 1884. In addition to the well-known and "definitive" Lewisohn painting, the only other work in which one could say Seurat was trying the composition as a whole is the tiny Signac-owned sketch, pl. XXXVIII. Rich notes this as having most figures in place, adding in a footnote "probably intermediate." Future discovery of sketches (perhaps those mentioned in the not quite clear paragraph on p. 58) may bring to light some evolution, or disclose some alternative solution which Seurat considered.

La Grande Jatte, one of the most important items in Seurat's scant oeuvre, is naturally one of the great art treasures in America; in the Art Institute, it has been continually available to the young curator Rich for study. His logical mind has made a sensitive and patient analysis of the construction and weighting of the picture. The diagrams: fig. 1, isolating all straight lines, and fig. 2, all curved lines, are interesting. These two-dimensional line elements, more or less self-evident anyway, might have been meaningfully combined in one figure, with each element sustaining and completing the other. The plate saved could have attempted a color diagram, or the always intangible third-dimensional plan, and thus saved many words. Rich's almost apologetic and almost too brief appreciation of "intensified existence" in the figures will at once be shared by those who, following his suggestion, p. 21, note the particularly elegant existence of the lady with the bustle as developing from an impression such as pl. I.

The neat historical paragraphs are a great pleasure to read, not only because Rich has assimilated well his material and deducts intelligently from it, but because he here recounts vividly. Precise and chatty, writing in modern tempo, with occasional arresting usages, he attains sometimes to real speed. In the midst of more serious affairs, one is amazed by interjections such as this reference to the famous abovementioned bustle: "To this fantastic mode, half-dress, half-furniture, which joined lady and frame into one single, splendid confusion, he lends a remote, classical dignity."

Especially interesting is the Seurat-Signac relationship, p. 9. If the material comes directly from Signac, it is amusing to wonder how much Signac's memories of Seurat are stimulated by reading on the subject. In the discussion of Seurat's habit of working at night, Rich affirms (p. 11): "So scientifically had he prepared his color that he could apply it under any condition; strong sun pouring into the room or the inadequate flare of the gas-jet were the same to him." However much Seurat under "villainous" light might have worked on drawing and composition, the subtlety of his color tones precludes the possibility of their development in color-blind light. One appreciates Rich's presentation of the Seurat debt to Puvis de Chavannes, and of the Monet influence so tellingly demonstrated by comparison of landscapes, pls. LVIII and LVII (this Monet seemingly signed 1878, and elsewhere so dated, would correct the date offered in note 1, p. 45). His amusing intonations against

Monet, and his noting of Monet as over and over again evading the pictorial problem might, however, ruffle Monet enthusiasts into some positive interpretation of Monet's art. Rich undertakes to establish Seurat's classicism by contrast to the popular notion of a Baroque Cezanne, a Cezanne who had great ambitions to do figure compositions, a Cezanne who needed the motif before him at all moments. By dwelling on the massive, now crystalline, now solid, suspension balance of Cezanne, by interpreting Seurat's progressive sketches as expert elaborate means of bringing indoors to keep ever before him the forms and precise moods of nature, and without signaling for complaint by comparison with the other either Cezanne's figure construction or the more tame landscapes of Seurat, it is possible to see in both a classicism of nature which can be analyzed for precise differences.

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The first two books in the series published by the Renaissance Society, introduced under the seal of an archaic Greek drawing, were likewise on modern art, and both on that same attractive period from Impressionism down to the present day. They do not repeat each other, however: Mr. Sweeney's book, *Plastic Redirections in 20th Century Painting*, deals with style and change; the other concerns cultural forces of the period.

Plastic Redirections is simply written, with recent painting manners neatly boxed in schools, and illustrated by excellently selected photographs. Though Impressionism, Neo-impressionism, and so on, through smoothest transitions, seem to follow necessarily one after another, Mr. Sweeney finds occasion to rise here and there with drama to defend orthodox ideas dating the book. The absence of American painting and much ado about Paris seems normal enough in a book dealing with plastic redirections; one might wish, however, that Mr. Sweeney had noted more of the interesting experiments in Germany. The book is nevertheless well hung together, and an excellent introduction to current ideas on the restricted problem indicated by the title.

The Meaning of Unintelligibility in Modern Art, by Edward Rothschild is the second book in the series. Rothschild, pondering philosophical and scientific supposition, fragments of dissonance and melody, and foreign literature in the air, develops the delightful notion that the modern world is really quite unintelligible. He asks you to note: *Snobbisms of society, aesthetes, intellectual aristocracy; charmed lives of movie stars; abandonment of old faiths moves in the direction of unintelligibility; nonsense jazz jargon: Ha-cha-cha; blood counts, index of metabolism, index numbers (adjusted for seasonal variation); the economist uses elaborate formulas and batteries of calculating machines to arrive at his diagnoses, interpretations, and prognostication; multiple factors, vector analyses, population curves; the machine negates the human factor, makes for unintelligibility.*

He constructs a framework for seeing the unintelligibles in terms of Individualism, Revolution from the products of Individualism, and these accompanied by general Dematerialization. To quote: " ....in terms of a broad and conventional generalization, which, it must be admitted is clumsy and inadequate, individualism gave rise to the 'free' expression of the spirit; and revolution or collectivism, dealing in 'scientific' terms, ideologies, and universal (or international) interest, was concerned with the abstract products of the mind. Yet both are psychic, and the dematerialization consists in this psychic aspect...." Individualism and Dematerialization are compartments into which we are always happy to toss nineteenth and twentieth century phenomena; and in certain recent painting schools, ideas of collectivism and revolt apply in more than the superficial sense of a revolution as subject matter, or of revolt as inevitable stylistic withdrawal from whatever the previous manner. As the absolutely unintelligible is equally intelligible, Dada is demonstrated to be universal; and one will agree that *die Neue Sachlichkeit* be regarded as universal, literal expression. *Surrealisme*, he says, deals with a superreality which " is psychic and is therefore collective or universal.... It was a sort of collectivism."

His deductions and interpretations are varyingly convincing and confusing; his examples with just a flick of the typewriter are capable of being ordered under other common denominators. Still, one is fascinated by a continually generating, smooth-tumbling abstract logic, and when he descends to discuss painting manners his always interesting thought may become lucid and beautiful. Of Impressionism: " ....what do we see when we look at an impressionistic painting? We are not particularly aware of any 'scientific evidence'—on the contrary, the shimmering vaporous veil before our eyes reminds us of the glittering tinsel hanging on the Christmas tree, masking its body with a spidery web of magic, glistening strands. The effect is romantic—it is evanescent and fantastically insubstantial. And now we realize better wherein Impressionism, with all its science, differs from science. The instrument of observation is within the observer; and though the instrument is scientific, the observer is romantic."

Of Expressionism he tabloids vividly: " Every picture that the Expressionist paints is a 'self portrait.' The object is distorted, disintegrated, or disrupted by the participating, self-projecting dynamic 'transcendent subject.' This is what is meant by 'Egocentrism.' This is why the expressionistic idiom is explosive, fantastic, violent, centrifugal, or centripetal; its colors bizarre or eerie; its composition dynamic; its texture rough and varied; its rhythms eccentric; its imagery confused or dissociative; its mood electric, thunderous, prestidigitative, or nervous." (Such explanation has been especially popular with those convinced disbelievers not interested in the personal reactions of any artist.) Two paintings, I and the City, by Meidner, and I and the Village, by Chagall, are, as self portraits, happily appropriate illustrations on which Rothschild concisely and firmly generalizes about Expressionism. But just as Paul Brandt publishing these same two portraits (*Sehen und Erkennen*, 1929), and in a more elaborate appreciation of them, apprehends similar meanings for Expressionism, and just as the hordes of lesser artists over the world become proficient in producing typical Expressionism, the more Expressionism seems a universal mood to be turned on or off at will. Futurism he observes to be " the Italian version of

Expressionism.... in some respects a combination of the German vehemence and the French logic."

The really fine conclusion turns back to the memorable notion of the unintelligibility of contemporary phenomena. Resorting to emotion, shaming man of satisfaction with mere existence and of contentment with the cheaper spiritual pleasures, twitting him of possible exhaustion at the struggle for existence, he pleads: "It is inevitable that the artist should be unintelligible because his sensitive nature, inspired by fascination, bewilderment, and excitement, expresses itself in the profound and intuitive terms of ineffable wonder."

His readers may not be able to maintain his intensity of seriousness in connection with all the ideas turned up, but they must agree the book is richly packed with ideas, and so repays careful study.

JOHN ALLCOTT

HOW PEOPLE LOOK AT PICTURES. *By Guy T. Buswell. xvi, 198 pp.; 117 pls. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1935.* $ *3.*

This book is a report of research work done by Professor Buswell in order to get objective data concerning the visual fixations of individuals when looking at pictures. Generalizations were continually made concerning the eye movements of people looking at pictures, but prior to this series of experiments there was no scientific check on their veracity. The author's purpose is "to find the extent to which objective evidence obtained from photographs of eye movements corroborates the hypotheses which have been built up subjectively relating to the general patterns of perception in looking at pictures." Light is thrown upon generalizations such as the common one: predominant verticals lead the eye upward; and upon such questions as: how do art students differ from others in their visual response to a picture?

The author is known for his work in the measurement of eye movements in reading, and he has used a similar procedure in attacking this problem. "The method of securing a record of eye movements consists in photographing a beam of light from a six-volt ribbon-filament lamp reflected first to the cornea of the eye from silvered glass mirrors and then from the cornea to the second set of mirrors, through a camera lens and a set of wedge prisms to a moving kinetoscope film.... the beam of light is interrupted thirty times per second between the lens and the film in such a manner that on the film the line of light appears as a series of dots, each dot representing one-thirtieth of a second of time." This, of course, gives the position; and, by counting the number of dots in each fixation pause, it is possible to determine exactly how long the observer has looked at each position in the picture. All chances of inaccuracy are prevented by further mechanical devices or are taken into account in the final computations. For this study photographic records of eye movements were obtained from two hundred individuals. Fifty-five different pictures were used with subject matter including modern paintings, architecture, sculpture, Japanese prints, furniture, tapestry, abstract designs, and advertising posters. The total of completed records used was 1,877.

The first chapter recording experimental work has to do with centers of interest and patterns of perception; the second has to do with the duration of pauses; the third with variations in perception due to the characteristics of the particular picture being observed; the fourth with variations related to the characteristics of the individual observer. It was found that a survey type of perception characterizes the early part of an examination of a picture, whereas more detailed study, when it occurs, usually appears later. Also the duration of fixation pauses increases as one looks at a picture. Wide individual differences were found both in patterns of perception and duration of fixations. In general the differences in duration are more directly related to characteristics of the individuals than to differences in the pictures. The perceptual pattern for various types of repetitive designs shows that pattern of eye movement does not resemble even remotely the general pattern of the design. A predominance of verticals was found to carry the eye vertically, but the majority of the movements were down rather than up. As a group, art students made shorter fixations than others. There were no consistent differences between records taken from children and records taken from adults.

In conclusion the author remarks, "In general, the significance of the data presented in this investigation rests upon the fact that eye movements are objective symptoms of the perceptual processes of the person looking at a picture.... While the eye-movement records give no evidence whatever as to the quality of the mental processes going on and are to be considered as in no sense indicative of the type of appreciation experienced by subject; nevertheless, they do furnish the most objective evidence available of the centers of interest within a picture.... This investigation is, therefore, presented to students of art in the hope that the evidence herein contained may have, when interpreted from their point of view, even greater significance than is apparent to the psychologist without special training in the field of art." Whether such research, in its present elementary stage, has any value for artists and art scholars is doubtful. At least, it is of interest to know that such an experiment has just been conducted; and it indicates possibilites of clarifying debated points in the future by the application of scientific technique.

NANCY MILLETTE